



## A Linguistic Sketch of Tiba (Gà)

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Voici réunies les deux parties de cette esquisse concernant la langue tiba (*gã*) publiées dans deux fascicules successives du volume 82 de la revue *Afrika und Übersee*. Cette version comporte des corrections supplémentaires par rapport à la précédente qui avait subi quelques déformations lors du processus de conversion de polices. Le document actuel a été généré par Word 2007 à partir d'Unicode.

En outre, nous avons mis à jour les données concernant le yendang (Adamaoua 5) en introduisant les résultats d'une enquête plus détaillée effectuée en 1999 et concernant le tchamba-leko en tirant sur le lexique approfondi publié par Fabre (2003).

L'interprétation la plus directe de cette documentation permet d'affirmer l'appartenance probable de cette langue au groupe mumuye-yendang de la branche Adamaoua de la famille Niger-Congo, malgré l'assimilation massive de termes empruntés au tchamba-daka qui l'entoure et qui est connu et utilisé en bilinguisme parfait par les Tiba. En effet, l'hypothèse contraire qui ferait du tiba une langue dont l'ancêtre le plus proche serait une « proto-tchamba » exigerait la supposition d'un temps historique assez long de contact avec une langue du groupe Adamaoua 5 de Greenberg dont le tiba aurait emprunté une grosse partie du vocabulaire. Or, nous n'avons aucun motif qui laisserait penser qu'une fois les Tiba auraient vécu isolés des Tchamba pendant une époque où leur langue aurait divergé du tchamba pour arriver à l'état où on le trouve aujourd'hui.

Par ailleurs nous continuons à penser que le classement du tchamba parmi les langues bantoïdes, hypothèse courante depuis Bendor-Samuel (1989), constitue une aberration malgré les influences manifestes d'une ou de plusieurs langues Benoué-Congo (Boyd 1997). Le reclassement étant fondé sur une étude lexicostatistique, d'ailleurs de portée limitée, il injecte un composant détonnant dans la méthode de Greenberg avec qui il faut continuer à affirmer : « Regarder, vous le verrez ».

Ces conclusions sont donc en contradiction avec la classification établie par *Ethnologue* : <http://www.ethnologue.com/language/ttb>

## A Linguistic Sketch of Tiba (*Gà*), Part I

by R a y m o n d B o y d

### I.0. Introduction

The Tiba area can be reached at present by leaving the main Gombe-to-Yola road in the direction of Mayo Belwa, then continuing on through Jada towards Ganye via the longer route passing by Mbulo. The traveler will then turn westward at Mbulo towards Tola. Some twenty kilometers beyond the town of Pola lies Gambe, the Tiba center on this axis. Most Tiba people nevertheless reside, not in Gambe, but in hamlets on the surrounding hills. There are no census data or any means of counting the number of Tiba speakers, but a local speculative guess puts the figure at less than ten thousand.

The Tiba tend to shun outsiders, as many mountain peoples do. It was therefore with some difficulty that we found an informant, after several people had promised to help us and then not appeared. Finally, we were able to contact Abdullahi, called Awdi, son of VwèkKààmì and resident in the hamlet of KékPáán. He was unable to give himself a precise age but would seem to be in his early thirties.

It will be noticed that Awdi's father's name and the name of his hamlet are Chamba Daka (hereafter CD). This is said to be ordinary among the Tiba, i.e., at least when Islam was less widespread, they traditionally gave themselves CD names, and are certainly all fully bilingual in this language. They are also said to have adopted Chamba customs, but this has not been verified in any way. A doubt would even seem to be cast on this

affirmation insofar as Awdi did not give an identical term for the fundamental Chamba institution of *lángsí*, and in fact seemed unclear about its exact nature.

The Tiba (*Tíba* in CD) do not use this name for themselves. Rather, they call themselves *àGàá nīā* 'Tiba people') and their language *àgà àṇá* ('Tiba mouth', i.e., 'Tiba language'). Roger Blench has called to our attention the fact that there is a word of the form *tiba* in the Adamawa group 4 language "Momi", which means 'blacksmith'. Now neither the Tiba themselves nor the surrounding Chamba seem to have any recollection that smithing was an original role of this people. While it may be that there was interethnic blacksmithing in this region (i.e., that one ethnic group would seek its blacksmith population among a neighboring group), and that this original relationship is now forgotten in the case of the Tiba, it may also be that terms for 'blacksmith' are not always obtained as some derivate of the terms for 'forge', 'to forge', or some other notion associated with smithing, but rather from words meaning 'outsider, stranger' (cf. CD *dōō* 'stranger, outsider, pagan', 'a pejorative term for stranger, especially non-Chamba speakers, applied in particular to 'less developed' neighbors", Richard Fardon, pers. comm.). The common term for the Tiba people and for Momi blacksmiths may thus signify simply that both are viewed as "outsiders" with respect to their neighbors.

Our survey was conducted entirely in Nnakenyaare CD, as Awdi had practically no knowledge of English. Isa Saadu, a teacher currently resident in Pola, was present throughout in order to provide all the necessary clarifications. It might be feared that, if the informant were not committed and alert, such a procedure would tend to throw up large numbers of CD loanwords. There were indeed many cases in which the Tiba term was identical with the one recorded in CD, and it is possible that some of these cases may be attributable to the informant's fatigue after hours of the mechanical repetition required of him in the early stages of this survey. Nevertheless, the bulk of the lexical data is clearly distinct from CD, consisting either of different roots or of cognates showing important phonological variations. Grammatical and syntactic features, too, were characteristic, though often showing interesting correlations with CD. Our impression is that the degree of CD/Tiba interference was minimal.

Our sessions with Awdi took place over a period of exactly six days (plus a short additional session in 1998 to obtain further information on the pronominal system). While

the author is practiced in linguistic survey work, it should be clear to everyone that, given the conditions, the data presented here are very far from sufficient for a reliable description of Tiba. The attempt has nevertheless been made to suggest some kind of analysis for most of the salient features of the language. The reader will take these analyses for no more than what they are worth: nothing said here is not subject to review in the light of further research.

## I.2. A cognate search

Tiba is a language concerning which practically no published information exists. Williamson (1989:269) calls it a "newly-reported" Benue-Congo language, insofar as the first linguistic knowledge concerning it came from survey work in the 1980's by Roger Blench. Williamson cites three terms in Tiba ('man', 'one', 'neck'), the first of which is assumed to be a "Benue-Congo innovation", the other two being "older [NC] roots". No other basis for classification is cited. In the same volume, Hedinger (1989:424), referring back to an unpublished paper by Blench and Williamson (1987), cites Tiba as a separate branch of "Northern Bantoid"; Blench (1993) includes it with CD in "Dakoid".

The purpose of this article is not to dispute the classification of Tiba, though on a wider scale, the author would certainly dispute the usefulness of forcing many of the linguistic isolates in this region of intense contact into any branching sub-family structure, particularly in the case of NC languages. We simply note that a) Tiba is classifiable in Greenbergian terms as Adamawa (hereafter AD); indeed, if CD is assigned to AD, it is inconceivable, on the basis of the material presented here, that Tiba should not be. b) Tiba is located in fairly close proximity to undisputedly AD languages (there are predominantly Mumuye settlements only a few kilometers away). It is therefore pertinent to examine what similarities exist on the linguistic level between Tiba and AD; we leave to other interested parties the task of working out the relationships which may exist between Tiba and other language groups<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, the published lexical data on a number of languages which might interest us, particularly AD groups 5<sup>2</sup> (precisely the one containing Mumuye), 8 (Kam), and 9 (Jen/Munga), are scarce (limited practically to Meek 1931). Nevertheless, we have ourselves been able to obtain a set of some 500 lexical items in Yendang<sup>3</sup> (the other part of AD5), and we are fortunate to have some fairly extensive material from the Mumuye portion of AD5 (Shimizu 1983), from AD4 (Blench and Edwards 1988 for Momi, Raen

1985 for Pere, Bohnhoff 1991 for Dii or Duru), and from at least one AD2 language, Chamba Leko, hereafter CL (an unpublished wordlist from the Balkossa Literacy Center).

All the AD languages cited above are conceivably part of a larger AD grouping (see Boyd 1989a:179-80, where an AD2, 4, 5 subgroup was mooted), which we may provisionally call "Southwestern Adamawa" (SWAD). Since a first look at the data reveals a multiplicity of striking lexical similarities between Tiba and SWAD, this paper will concentrate on specifying as many of these as possible.

Obviously, any cognate search can be extended to other AD groups. One of these would be another AD grouping including AD6 (Mbum) and AD13 (Bua). In this paper, we shall indeed incorporate data from a few languages chosen fairly arbitrarily for accessibility of material. Four of these are from AD6: Mbum (Hino 1978), Karang, Koh (Ubels, n.d.), and Pana (Lim 1997), belonging to the "Central" group (Boyd 1989a:185); three others are from AD13: Kulaal, Kwa (not the Kwa surveyed by Kleinewillinghöfer 1996) and Niellim, using unpublished word lists prepared by Pascal Boyeldieu (n.d.), including material collected by Claude Pairault for Kulaal (cf. Boyeldieu 1985, Pairault 1969), among others. While some interesting correlations are revealed, this search is of greater interest as an illustration of the phenomenon of "diminishing returns" than for providing new AD links for Tiba. A check of the AD6/13 citations will show that the majority of these are either cases of common AD (or NC) roots, or proof of the classificatory separation of the two groupings involved, or both. In few cases do they provide the only available cognates for Tiba roots. On the other hand, there are numerous citations from only one or more languages from AD2/4/5. If we extend our search again to AD11 Fali (see Sweetman 1981), we will find even less unique citations, barely one or two, e.g., *sip*- 'bury' (cf. Tiba *sû* 'bury' and *sîb* 'under'). Open-ended search processes are therefore of little use. Indeed, it will often quickly become apparent which languages give "results" (multiplicity and plausibility of cognates unattested on a wider scale) and which do not. Perhaps inevitably, the ones which do give "results" are close or fairly close geographical neighbors, or at least those with which recent historical contact can be affirmed.

There is, however, a third grouping, namely "Northwestern Adamawa" (NWAD) as defined by Kleinewillinghöfer 1996 (including AD7 Yungur, AD10 Longuda, AD1 Waja, AD9 Jen, and Bikwin and Kwa groups, unknown to Greenberg). A cognate search bringing

this set of languages into play would be of considerable interest, particularly in view of the presence of AD9 Jen. Indeed, a check of the Jen and Munga lists presented by Meek (1931) reveals a certain number of interesting correlations, more in any case than with the other NWAD languages cited in that work. Furthermore, Kleinewillinghöfer stresses the affinities between the Jen and Bikwin groups and notes that neither has a noun classification system, unlike the other NWAD languages. A wider comparison between SWAD and NWAD is therefore in order; this, however, will not be the subject of this paper. We shall here do no more than cite the relevant entries in Meek's Jen/Munga lists.

Naturally, given Tiba's geographical position, one hardly expects to find any BC language which could provide cognation on the same level as that provided by the AD2/4/5 grouping. This, of course, does not prove the classificatory position of Tiba in any more than a Greenbergian sense. In the light of basic vocabulary, CD and Tiba remain peripheral with respect to AD, each containing numerous items apparently unattested elsewhere. On the basis of a wider vocabulary, of course, CD and Tiba will group in the same way that CD and CL do, despite the surveyor's intuitive impression that these languages are markedly different.

Given the sparseness of data on some crucial languages, we shall proceed here in two steps: we begin by presenting a list of nominal roots, drawn from the lists used by Meek. Our first set of 38 nominals will show that there is a considerable degree of lexical concordance between Tiba and SWAD. This connection strikes one as stronger than the link between CD and AD (involving almost exclusively AD2 CL). As usual, however, two conclusions are possible: 1) there is some kind of fairly distended genetic grouping involved; or 2) these are contact phenomena of fairly ancient date, in which case the arrival of CD on the scene would hypothetically be more recent and of a nature such as to engulf certain smaller groups, but with little effect on a wider geographical scale.

The second set of 16 nominals shows how close the relationship between Tiba and CD is. In many cases, the degree of resemblance and the absence of cognacy elsewhere suggest that borrowing in the near past is the only plausible way to account for the present situation. In other cases, however, the phonological divergence is such that, if borrowing is indeed involved, it cannot be so recent.

In the final list of 19 nominals, the individuality of Tiba comes to the fore. This set includes items which either have no apparent CD or AD cognacy, or require the assumption of considerable phonological change to account for any correspondences.

In a part II of this study, we state all the tentative conclusions which we were able to reach with regard to phonology, tonology, morphology, and grammatical marking in Tiba, compare the situations in Tiba and CD, and provide a full Tiba-English word list, with all additional putative AD cognates which we have been able to find in the sources cited.



## LIST 1: ADAMAWA COGNATES FOR TIBA NOUNS WITH GLOSSES IN MEEK'S WORDLISTS

Notation: In CD, we use the characters  $\epsilon$ ,  $\varrho$  to represent high mid vowels and  $e$ ,  $o$  to represent low mid vowels;  $\mathfrak{q}$  represents a mid central vowel. For ease of typography and comparison, we have transposed material available in other languages cited here to this system whenever the distinction in mid vowel heights is clearly pertinent (the contrast is thus not marked for mid front vowels in Pere as it has no role in the native lexical stock). In the particularly complicated Dii system, both  $e$ ,  $o$  and barred  $i$ ,  $u$  are represented by  $\epsilon$ ,  $\varrho$ ; this is unlikely to cause confusion, given the almost total complementary distribution of the vowel heights concerned. Consonant notation is conventional; note only that  $vw$  represents a labial flap and ' is used for glottal stop. In tonal notation, / represents downstep, while  $\check{v}$  represents any vowel bearing the suprahhigh tone in the four-register Yendang system. (Given the provisional nature of the Momi data, these are noted without tones.)

Meek's data are given in his nonphonetic notation, with the exception that  $ng$  is noted  $\eta$  where necessary.

In this part of the paper, Tiba nouns are presented in citation form, i.e., with  $\grave{a}$ - or  $\acute{a}$ /- prefix and final  $\acute{a}$  (the latter undergoing diverse alterations as described in part II). The retention of the prefix clarifies certain correspondences in Kam (AD8) where a similar element is apparently prefixed to many nouns. The prefix is dropped in the list in Part II.

Each set of items is arranged alphabetically by English gloss.

- (S)WAD cognates

$\grave{a}$ - $\acute{q}\eta$ - $\acute{a}$  'arm, hand'

CD  $w\acute{a}\acute{a}$ , the general root in AD2/5/7/8/9 is nasal + central or front vowel + nasal

$\grave{a}$ - $t\acute{o}$ - $\acute{a}$  'bow'

CD  $t\acute{q}\acute{a}m$ , AD2 CL  $t\bar{a}b$ , AD4 Momi  $taau$ , Pere  $t\bar{a}b\grave{o}$ , AD5 Zing Mumuye (hereafter ZM)  $t\acute{a}(k)\grave{a}$ , Yendang  $t\acute{a}t$ , Meek AD8 Kam  $ace$ , cf. AD9 Jen  $kanto$ , Munga  $kantau$ ; also PP  $*ta$

à-*bàk-á* 'bushcow'

AD5 ZM *bàkà*, Meek Yendang *bàt*

à-*kàŋkiláá* 'chicken'

AD5 ZM *kìŋ*, cf. Meek AD8 Kam *kumè*; there is no nasal in AD2, thus CL *kò*, cf. CD *kpàá*, AD4 Momi *kąz*, AD6 Mbum *káká* vs. Koh *kāy*; the nasal reappears with a back vowel in AD4 Pere *kōnī*, the initial consonant is voiced in Meek's AD7 Yungur *go*; note a root in part of AD13, represented in Kulaal by *hàlá*, suggesting the Tiba term may involve two roots of similar meaning; also cf. terms for 'guinea-fowl'

à-*nàmèn-á* 'crocodile'

CD *nàmèn*, CL *nàbàn*, AD4 Pere *nàmənè*, Meek AD5 Yendang *name*

à-*náksā* 'cow'

AD4 Momi *nogs* and Pere *nàgò*, Meek AD5 Yendang *nákí*, AD6 Koh *nākā*, cf. PP *\*niak*; but CD, AD2 CL *nà*, also in AD7; AD4 Dii has *ndàà*, AD5 ZM has *nàpọ*

à-*bý-ā* 'dog'

Meek AD7 Yungur *bwe*, Mboi *abwa*; possible cognacy with the AD6 series Mbum *gói*, Karang *gáy*, Kare *vàà*; *\*bu* is also PP

à-*níŋ-á* 'drum'

Meek AD2 Mumbake *ringima*

à-*tóō* 'ear'

CD *táá*, AD5 ZM *shọọ* (derivation from an earlier *\*twa*, or *\*tue* as in Common Bantu, seems patent), Yendang *tók*; the velar *c*<sub>2</sub> is widespread: AD2 CL *túng*, AD4 Momi *tok*, Pere *tógò*, Dii *tóg*, cf. AD6 Karang *súk*

à-*éŋ-á* 'egg'

ZM *wnaŋkaa*; note Meek AD5 Yendang *hăt*, Kumba *pa*; the full AD5 set suggests cognacy with the widespread "*para*" form (cf. AD2 CL *bòòd*, AD10 Longuda *fōla*, AD14 Niellim *hwáánī*)

à-ísā 'eye'

*yir/l* forms are widely attested in non-Bantu Bantoid (along with *si* and *li*) and in AD13; otherwise, we have PP \**gis*, to be compared with Fali (AD11) *nisi* and Bantu A.90 Kako *misí* (also, of course, Fulfulde *yeeso* 'face', *yiitere* 'eye')

(à-)sē-é 'fingernail' (perhaps -sé-)

AD5 ZM *saari*, Yendang *sóó*, Meek AD8 Kam *aciri-*, AD9 Jen/Munga *cina-*

à-nè-á 'four'

AD4 Pere *nārō*, Dii *ndādó*, ZM *dneerò*, CL *nāārā*, Meek AD5 Yendang *nāt*, AD8 Kam *nar*, compare AD6 Karang *nìṅ*, Kare *nèṅ*, Mbum *nyàṅ*

à-vūn-ā 'goat'

CD *vīn*, AD2 CL *vā*, Meek Wom/Mumbake *vua*, AD4 Momi *buuz*, AD5 Yendang *bíí*, Kumba *wii*, Gengle/Kugama *ayi*, AD9 Munga *naṅbu*, AD6 Karang *gúy*, Koh *vúy*, AD13 Niellim *ḃwàṅ*

à-kpàngúm-tā 'groundnut(s)'

CD *kpàáj* 'groundnut', *gúūm* 'bambara groundnut', Meek AD2 Chamba (Leko) *kpaŋ[-]wara* (now without the preposed term: *wád*)

à-gérá 'guinea-corn'

Meek AD2 Wom *ghera*, cf. CL *yēd*, CD *yírí*; also see -*háj*- 'guinea-corn' below

à-sóksá '(body) hair'

AD4 Momi *suuk* 'hair', AD5 ZM *sòò*; a term noted *sūri* by Meek (Yendang *súúrí*) 'hair (of head)' (Meek does not record 'body hair') is widespread in AD5 outside Mumuye, cf. Dong *suk* 'hair' (Blench 1997), AD6 Koh *sùṽ* 'hair'; a comparable root appears in some A13 languages

à-gbōm-á (*gbōóm*) 'heart'

AD5 ZM *gbọti*

à-nyān-á 'horse'

CD *nyāān*, CL *yā*, Meek AD8 Kam *yeṅe*

à-lúŋ-ā 'knee'

CD *lúúrĩ*, CL *líḡàd* 'articulation', Meek AD2 Wom *liḡbera*; AD5 Teme *luḡ*, Kumba *niḡgi*, Gengle/ Kugama *ruḡ*, also Yendang (*yǎ-*)*rúńká*; AD8 Kam *alunu* (also A13 Bwa group *d/rul* vs. AD6 Kare (*nzá-*)*túù*)

à-bák-á 'knife'

Meek AD8 Kam *abak*; cf. AD4 Dii *pāg*

yàásá 'leaf'

CL *yēsà*, cf. CD *yàà* and Meek AD5 Yendang *nyākahē* (*yǎńká*, with classifier *hē*), Waka *nyāḡa*, Teme *jaḡga*, AD9 Jen/Munga *yangka*

à-bé-ā 'leg'

AD4 Momi *bi* 'paw'

à-bá-á 'leopard'

AD4 Pere *bâlām*, cf. CD *gbēē*, AD5 ZM *gbmee*, Meek Yendang *kpe* (*kpēē*); the relationships between these roots AD2 CL *gā*, AD4 Momi *gooz*, and Meek AD7 *fila*, *vila*, *ivula*, AD8 *impeli*, AD9 *hwi*, *vwi* is obscure

à-nyém-ā 'meat'

Meek AD9 Jen *hiā*, Munga *xiam*; other instances of this root in AD2, 7, 8 are not palatalized; this well-known NC root reappears in AD13 Kulaal *nyám*, Niellim *nyàm*

(à-)fén-ā 'moon'

AD6 Karang *fěw*, Meek AD7 Yungur *-fē*, *-fà*, AD9 Jen/Munga *fĩ*, *hwi* (Kleinewillinghöfer 1996 records cases of nasal vowels); also in AD13: Kulaal *fēē*, Niellim *pyāā*, PP *\*pyan* has reflexes in both initial *f* and *s*, cf. 'sun'

à-dók-ā 'mountain'

Meek AD8 Kam *adaḡ*

à-kāḡ-á 'neck'

Meek AD5 Gengle/Kugama *kōaḡ*, AD7 Libo *kwēena*; elsewhere in groups 5 and 7, the forms are *kir*, *kwer*, *kor*, cf. AD2 CL *kòól*, AD4 Pere *kōlāḡ*; also cf. 'shoulder'

à-jí-ā 'night'

AD4 Pere zègò 'darkness', AD5 ZM *zii*, Meek Kumba *jim*

à-bóŋ-á 'river'

Meek AD5 Yendang boŋko (*bōnkó*), Waka *baŋgo*, etc., AD2 CL *wūŋ*. But the root is also apparently in "Mambiloid" Nizaa

à-yókúm-á 'salt'

Meek AD2 Mumbake *nyuŋ*, AD4 Pere *yōŋ*, Meek AD9 Jen *jukwē*; also cf. CD *nyénúm* 'kind of salt', AD2 CL *nwūùm*

à-yó-ā 'snake'

CD *yéŋ*, cf. Meek AD9 Jen *dzo*, Munga *zəu*, AD7 Mboi *za*, Libo *i[-]zoŋya*, and all apparent cognates with initial *s* in AD5 and 7; also cf. AD4 Dii *yó* 'slough off (old skin)'; while this root is best known in BC (cf. Bantu *\*j/yókā*), it is also found in languages presumably subjected to little BC influence such as AD11 Fali *joo* and Ubangi Gbaya *gók*

à-té-é 'stone'

AD5 ZM *tara*, Meek Yendang *tari* (*tárí*), AD8 Kam *atal*, AD9 Jen/Munga *te* (cf. AD6 Karang *-sàw*); PP *\*ta*

à-lér-á 'tongue'

Meek AD2 Wom *lela*, AD5 ZM *rèetè*, Yendang *lékǎ́*, but CD *lǎ̀*

à-tár-á 'three'

CD *tárā*, ZM *tat*, CL *tōŋrā*, Meek AD5 Yendang *tat* (*tāt*), AD7 Yungur (*fī*)*ta*, Libo *tar(in)*, AD8 Kam *car*, AD9 Jen (*wa*)*ta*

à-tí-á 'tree'

AD4 Momi *te*; the root is also clearly represented in Meek AD5 Yendang (*téŋ*), Waka, Teme and AD2 Mumbake, CL *té*, cf. CD *tím* with final nasal (AD10 Longuda shows a plural form with final *-m*, Kleinewillinghöfer 1996); also cf. AD13 Kulaal *téŋ*, Niellim *télā*, but AD6 Kare *dī*

à-lóm-ā 'war'

AD4 Dii *lúú* 'make war'; cf. AD6 Koh *yúm*, Mbum *nyû*

à-jínjín-á 'water'

Meek AD2 Lekon (Chamba Leko) *nyuŋuna*, cf. Wom/Mumbake *yila*, CL *wāl*; also compare AD4 Dii *zīj* 'urine', *zìŋ* 'river'; possibly connected with the AD13 root represented in Kulaal by *ím* but elsewhere by *rim* forms

- Cognate in CD

à-wér-á (wéé) 'arrow'

CD *wárí*

à-d(ū)ùm-á 'back, behind'

CD *dīm(āā)*: primarily a BC root (particularly Bantu and Cross River), represented regionally in Vute and Mambila; the best AD correlate is Dii *dān* 'beyond, on the other side'

à-ýsýn-á 'breast'

CD *nyésà*: cf. PP \**basan*; compare AD2 CL *vūùm*, AD4 Momi *voom* 'milk'

à-gàŋ-á 'chief'

CD *gàng*: possibly an areal root, though plausible cognates all show unusual correspondences, cf. Mambila *gáng*, AD2 CL *gààd*, AD4 Pere *gènè*, Dii *gbāŋ*, PP \**gwam*, among others

à-kòŋlár-ā 'elephant'

CD *kòŋlāā*; CD has an apparently derived verb *kōŋlì* 'bend' from which this root may in turn derive (relating, for example, to the form of the tusks); note, however, the existence of Meek AD7 Roba *lara* and AD10 Longuda *larawa*, suggesting this root could also theoretically be an ancient compound (also cf. AD4 Pere *gòŋĩ*)

à-tūùŋ-á 'five'

CD *túùnā*: initial *t-* is characteristic of BC (AD has mostly *n-*); back *v<sub>1</sub>* can be found, for example, in Jukunoid

*à-tú-ā* 'head'

CD *tīī*: a NC root; but SWAD (including AD5) has mostly initial *y-*, *j-* (or *ø* as in Yendang *úk*), cf. nevertheless AD4 Dii *tún* 'face'; AD6 (excluding Mbum) has *túl*

*à-jīntá* 'pot'

CD *jīī*; see *-wàlāŋ-* below

*à-nyìk-á* 'lion'

CD *nyìk*, AD2 CL (*gbàál-*)*nìg*

*à-kémjì-ā* 'monkey'

CD *kéém jīī*, lit. 'red monkey': CB \*-*kímà* (9/10)

*à-(y)ón-ā* 'nose'

CD *núùn*: a well-represented NC root with many probable cognates in AD, though the correspondences are too complex for certainty, cf. for example AD2 CL *níd*, AD4 Pere *áā*, AD6 Mbum *hòòk*, Karang *hókō* but Koh *múy*, AD13 Niellim *hùny*

*à-wóm-á* 'oil'

CD *múm*, but Mapeo Chamba *úm*; this need not be the well-represented *no(m)* root (cf. AD6 Karang *núm*), as CD also has *nòò* 'be fat' and derivates from it; but in AD13 where *num* is the common root, we also find Fanyan "*mumé*", according to Joly (1935); cf. Meek AD8 Kam *man*

*à-kìsēn-á* 'slave'

CD *kàsēn*; AD2 CL Meek *kwasa* (now found without the *-s-* suffix: *kò'*), apparently from a verb *kò* 'catch'

*à-sām-á* 'spear'

CD *sāām*; cf. ZM *shàlàn*, suggestive of Chadic; also compare AD2 CL *sííd* 'arrow', AD4 Dii *sēē* 'war', *sēē* 'arrow', AD5 ZM *shòn*, Yendang *sòn*, both 'arrow', and AD13 Kulaal *sòl*, Niellim *sàl*, both 'combat'

à-ín-ā 'tooth'

CD *nîn*: a NC root not well represented in AD unless cognacy can ultimately be established with AD2 CL *nágál*, AD4 Momi *nuur*, Pere *núúlè*, cf. PP \**niu*

à-bēē-á 'two'

CD *bààrá*: a very general root in BC; *rop* forms in Adawawa 1, 7 are likely metatheses of the consonant components of this root.

- No SWAD cognates

à-óŋ-á 'bee'

Closest neighboring AD roots are AD5 ZM *wara* (cf. Meek AD5 Yendang *fōri* (*vóri*), Waka/Kumba *vōri*, Teme *vobe*), AD2 CL *núúd* (cf. Meek Wom *ŋora*); also compare AD4 Pere *ólè* 'honey'

à-lá-ā 'belly'

*n/la* is well represented in Bantoid and presumably related to a PB \*-*dâ* (9); it is also present in Mambila; note that CD has *nàà* 'in, inside'

á/-gbáŋ-á 'bird'

Related to AD4 Pere *gááí* 'bat' and/or *gbágò* 'pigeon'?

à-lēká 'blacksmith'

AD2 CL *lām*; cognacy is hypothetical given that every AD group has a different characteristic root; also compare AD4 Dii *nāŋ*; cf. however 'forge' in list 2

à-gbām-á (*gbāám*) 'blood'

à-mí-á 'door' (< *mû* 'close'?)

à-gáŋsā 'fly'

All matches unsatisfactory: CD *gèè*, AD4 Momi *gumkəz*, Pere *gúí*; cf. Meek AD5 Yendang group *kū* (*kūn*)



à-nyáà-á 'friend'

AD6 Karang *yǎh*, Meek AD8 Kam *aŋwa*, but cognacy is hypothetical given that practically every language has its own root for this gloss; CD *mànáà* is a derivate of *màn-* 'peer', often used as a prefix

à-hǎŋ-á 'guinea-corn'

Cf. Meek AD5 Yendang *koŋ* (*kón*), Teme *kom*, AD7 Yungur/Roba *koma*

à-jý-ā 'house'

Cf. AD5 ZM *zhà(k)a*; also Meek AD7 Mboi *shudò*, Libo *ishiria*, Yungur *hito*; there are apparent AD13 cognates: Kwa Perim *jòō*: 'house', Kwa Cini *jùùrá* 'woman's house'; cf. PP \**dí*, a root also represented in Voltaic

à-pígèè 'maize' (but curiously CD *pīī-gōō* 'cassava')

à-ísá 'mat'

Cf. AD6 Karang *híh*

à-kīn-á 'one'

Meek AD5 Yendang *bindi* (*bíntí*), AD9 Jen *bing*, compare Kleinewillinghöfer (1996:95-6), who gives the initial consonant in the Jen group as *ts*, while the Bikwin group has either *kw* or *cw*; this root is more widespread in NWAD (see Jungraithmayr 1968/9 ; also see Boyd 1989b); note the curious resemblance to AD4 Pere *kīnè* 'compact, dense'

à-wálán-á 'pot'

(à-)hǎnmā 'rain'

Also means 'saliva'; cf. AD2 CL *yān* 'rain', also AD5 ZM *sná* 'rain (vb)', *snáári* 'saliva', AD6 Karang *sám* 'saliva'

à-gǎǎ (*gǎǎ*) 'road'

*à-sé-é* 'sun, God'

CD *súū*; the semantic equivalence is very widespread in SWAD languages; also AD6 Karang *séh*; note AD2 CL *sò*, AD4 Momi *see*, Pere *s̄ū*, Dii *s̄ēē*, Meek AD5 Yendang *sí*, *se* (*nóó-sī*), all meaning 'moon'

*à-wóóḃ-ā* 'ten'

Cf. AD4 Pere *fób*; a widespread AD root is *kop* (cf. AD5 ZM *kop*, Yendang *kóp*, AD2 CL *kób* and Meek AD10 Hill Longuda *kwoo*); another is *bu* in AD7/8 and perhaps 9

*(á/-)sánká* 'toad, frog'

### I.3. Conclusion

The author takes this opportunity to reaffirm his opinion that Greenberg's classification of African languages leaves little room for readjustment. By mass comparison, every language must find its place in a small number of inclusive groups. CD, for example, finds its place in AD on the basis of its lexical similarities with the languages of AD2 (morphology, even vestigial traces of morphology, count for little here). If, however, a closer look shows that AD2 languages are "rather like" AD4 languages but really "quite different" from CD, it does not then become helpful to leave AD2 in place and shunt CD around, particularly on the basis of a handful or less of putative "diagnostic" roots (cf. Bennett 1983; the same is valid for the treatment of Dong by Shimizu 1979). If we wish to exclude CD from AD (or better, from each of the parts of AD), our best solution is to "leave it nearby". By this is meant a nonclassificatory approach, seeking whatever lexical and morphological resemblances are to be found with languages in the immediate geographical neighborhood. We need not doubt that there will be many of these; but at the same time, there will be a small number of identities with more distant languages and groups, some of these quite surprising (for CD, Boyd 1994 cites, for example, a striking near-identity of the root for "wing" with the one found in Gurunsi, although Kleinewillinghöfer has now personally communicated similar forms in AD1 Waja and AD7 Yungur). Are such identities more significant than English/Farsi *bad*? We do not know, but unlike the case with English and Farsi, it is not at all easy for us to find out. This indeed is the crux of the matter: for many of the languages which interest us, we have no proper description; for most groups, we have no reliable reconstructions to any time depth; whatever the case, we have no documentary basis enabling us to check our historical hypotheses. Thanks to Greenberg, we can now say that the languages with which we are dealing in this paper are in the heart of a family called "Niger-Congo". This we need to know; but nothing whatsoever hangs on their subclassification. It is certainly a matter of the utmost indifference to know whether Platoid and CD had, several thousands or tens of thousands of years ago, a common ancestor that, say, AD2/4/5/8/9 did not, when we do not (and perhaps cannot) know anything about the intervening history of the two groups, prior at least to the 18th century. Language classification, indeed different kinds of language classification, have an important place in linguistics; but there is a time when classification, particularly of the "genealogical" (Manessy 1992) type has nothing further to offer, and we must rather turn, at least temporarily, to the individual languages to learn what they have to teach us.



## NOTES

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1. Where obviously pertinent similarities exist, we shall nevertheless cite items from regional languages classified as Benue-Congo (BC), e.g., the "northern Bantoid" languages and Platoid, particularly Gerhardt's (1969) "Proto-Plateau" (PP) reconstructions. Common Bantu (CB) forms from Guthrie (1967/71) are also cited.

2. Numbers are those assigned by Greenberg (1963).

3. Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer, who took a short list of around 100 terms in this language, recorded a name with harmonized vowels: Yandang. Our speaker, however, used the form as recorded by Meek (1931): *nā yéndāŋ* 'Yendang language', *wèé yéndāŋ-ù bīntī* 'one Yendang person (child)'.

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## A Linguistic Sketch of Tiba (*Gà*), Part II

by R a y m o n d B o y d

### II.0. Introduction

In this section, we present a set of observations, and the provisional conclusions reached concerning these observations, in the domains of phonology, morphology, and basic word order in simple constructions and predications.

### II.1. Tiba phonology

#### a) CONSONANTS:

The initial consonant system of Tiba can be provisionally presented as follows:

<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>						
<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>km</i>	<i>kp</i>	
<i>b</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gm</i>	<i>gb</i>	
<i>ɸ</i>		<i>d'</i>					
<i>vwɭ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>h</i>			<i>w</i>		

(The notation *vw* is used here for the labial flap found in many languages of this region. In this chart, *y* represents a palatal semivowel.)

Major differences with respect to Nnakenyaare Chamba Daka (CD) are:

- i) A voiced "injective/plosive" contrast in the labial and dental orders. It will be noticed that the lexical frequency is such that this contrast might equally be envisaged as "fortis" (= injective) vs. "lenis" (plosive). To the ear, the *b/ɓ* contrast is less perceptible than *d/d'*; however, *d* may be confused with *l*.
- ii) Strangely, *f* seems to be followed by unrounded vowels and *a*, but *v* by rounded vowels and *a*. There is perhaps no *v/w* contrast before the high front rounded vowel.
- iii) The voiced palatal is affricated only before high front vowels; elsewhere it is a palatal fricative. The corresponding unvoiced consonant is a clear palatal fricative only before a high rounded front vowel; elsewhere, it is apical.
- iv) There are postnasalized velar consonants (note that postnasals are also present in Mumuye, Shimizu 1983, but there duplicate almost the entire initial consonant system). The articulation of these consonants is such that they might just as well be described as postnasalized labiovelars.
- v) There is a small number of terms having the structure: Initial aspirate velar ([k<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup>, h]) + High central vowel + *ŋ*. (In fact, the relative weight of stop and aspiration is such that the phonetic notation might as well be [k<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup>].) Now it turns out that, while we have at least one initial *kuŋ*, we nowhere have terms of the form *kiŋ*, *giŋ*, *hiŋ*, or *iŋ*. The latter are therefore reasonable phonological representations for these sequences; nevertheless, in our lists, they appear with vowel *ə* for easy identification of their peculiar nature. (Note that Shimizu 1983:13 also remarks central vowels before *ŋ* in ZM, and assigns them to phonological *i*, perhaps less convincingly insofar as his dictionary shows the preceding consonants to be arbitrary. Note a similar case in Tiba involving *ə* as *v*<sub>2</sub>, *árəŋ* 'fry'; it is not clear why this vowel should not be realized *i*, but at the same time, this verb has an aberrant canonic structure.)
- vi) As in Mapeo Chamba (but not Nnakenyaare CD), lexical items may have an initial vowel preceded by glottal stop. Glottal stop is nevertheless not represented here, as there seems to be no useful phonological role for it.

vii) There are cases of initial labialized *m* [m<sup>w</sup>]. This realization is treated here as a *w* + nasal vowel, but could also conceivably be a nasal counterpart of the postnasalized velars (cf. Shimizu 1983:12). Since it also appears intervocalically, however ([sùm<sup>w</sup>éē] 'worm'), this solution is questionable, aside from any phonetic implausibility. Its position in the system must be left undecided for the time being.

Tiba resembles the majority of Adamawa languages in having a sharply reduced noninitial consonant inventory. This seems to be:

<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>k</i>
	<i>l</i>		

There are, however, two important questions to be resolved:

i) Is there, as in CD, a //r noninitial contrast? On the basis of the data collected, it would seem this contrast does not exist intervocalically, where [l] and [r] seem to be allophones (*r* is used in our notation except between high back vowels, where [l] is perhaps exclusively preferred). There may, however, be a contrast after consonant, though this may be the consequence of borrowing from CD. Unlike CD, Tiba cannot be shown (at least by these data) to have *rC* or *lC* groups, although *CVrVCV* may be such that *v*<sub>1</sub> and *v*<sub>2</sub> must be identical (or at least *v*<sub>2</sub> is neutral). In such case, these items could be reanalyzed as *CVrCV*. (Given general scarcity of data together with difficulties in distinguishing compound terms, nothing will be said here about possible consonant sequences, which, as in CD, are likely to be severely restricted.)

ii) Do the semivowels *w* and *y* need to be represented intervocalically outside loan words? The data collected thus far suggest they do not, but the integration of loan words may be such that these phonemes should nevertheless appear in the intervocalic system.

b) VOWELS:

Tiba has a nine-vowel system: the usual seven-vowel triangle (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *ɔ*, *u*) together with two rounded front vowels, *y* (distinguished from the palatal semivowel

elsewhere in this paper by tone marking or context) and  $\emptyset$ . There is apparently no need for the high central vowel found in CD. The presence of rounded front vowels is obviously unusual, but has been reported for Tikar at least (G. Guarisma, p.c.) in this **general** region.

NASALITY: There seems to be a clear contrast between nonnasal and nasal vowels. There are probably only three distinctive heights for nasal vowels (only  $\dot{i}$ ,  $\dot{y}$ ,  $\dot{e}$ ,  $\dot{a}$ ,  $\dot{o}$ ,  $\dot{u}$  are thus far attested).

Furthermore, the nasal contrast can only appear in a limited number of positions: 1)  $v$  in  $CV\#$  (e.g., *ta* 'pluck'/'*tə* 'be early'; and 2)  $v_1$  in  $CV_1C_2(CV)$  (where  $C_2$  is either a front or a back stop, e.g., *tap* 'sew'/'*gap* 'count', *dək* 'forget'/'*sək* 'go down', are attested.

There is also nonphonological nasalisation in Tiba. Firstly, both nasal and postnasalized consonants transmit their nasal feature to the following vowel. Furthermore, unlike CD, Tiba lengthens vowels before *-n-* in  $CVnCV$  structures (also a feature of Yendang); *-n-* then tends to drop (in accordance with a CD-like exclusion of  $CVVCCV$ ), leaving a long nasal vowel. At the same time, in Tiba as in most if not all neighboring languages, vowel nasality spreads to a preceding semivowel. Furthermore, there being no  $NV/N\bar{V}$  contrasts (just as in other Southwestern Adamawa, SWAD, languages, certainly Dii and probably Yendang), there is no justification for setting up *ny/y* and *nw/w* contrasts (unlike CD, where nasality can only be a consonantal feature). Thus, [*w̃aasi*] 'body' is, if the rules above are indeed the only ones operative, phonologically /*wansi*/.

We may note that there is a strong tendency in Tiba to apply the CD rule that, if  $C_1$  in  $C_1V(V)N$  is a semivowel, it must be nasalized; i.e., in Tiba terms, the vowel in this structure must be nasal. There are, however, apparent counterexamples in a sort of "adjective" class. Whether there is an explanation for these cases such as to render the rule absolute in Tiba remains to be seen.

LENGTH: The question of the contexts in which vowel length is contrastive in Tiba requires further investigation. It would seem that the CD situation whereby lexical items cannot have the forms  $CV$  (only  $CV\colon$ ),  $CVn$  (only  $CV\colon n$ ), or  $CV\colon C$  (only  $CVC_2$ ) for any  $C_2$  other than *n* also holds in Tiba. The rule requiring that  $\dot{e}$ ,  $\dot{o}$  be long in CD (except in  $C\_CCV$ ) does not, however, seem to hold. Tiba has cases of at least  $C\dot{e}C$ ,  $C\dot{e}CV$ , and  $C\dot{o}C$ , though in the

case of the latter, the length contrast is much clearer to the ear when a vowel suffix is added. Long  $\epsilon$  and  $\varnothing$  in  $C\_C$  and  $C\_CV$  contexts are, however, limited to cases in which  $C_2$  is  $r$  or  $s$ , and there are no suitable pairs for establishing a long/short contrast. It may thus well be that Tiba, like CD, ultimately has the bulk of its vowel length contrasts in the  $CV(V)CV$  structure. For either phonological or morphological reasons, however, contrasts may be impossible to find before some  $C_2s$ .

There are two more important differences between CD and Tiba in this respect, namely 1) that, when a  $-V$  suffix is added to a  $CV:n$  term, the vowel is shortened (the notation  $CVn$  is therefore used in the word lists presented here); 2) though less frequent, vowel lengthening and nasalization followed by loss of the nasal consonant can also be observed in the case of  $CV\eta CV$ . (This situation involving a loss of the  $n/\eta$  contrast has been generalized in Zing Mumuye and Yendang.)

Vowel length is independent of tone, i.e., vowels are either short or long, whether they bear a simple or a contour tone. Contour tones are represented below by two vowels, but these vowels are only (phonetically) long in the environments specified above. Naturally, a sequence of identical vowels with identical tone represents a (phonological) long vowel in the appropriate  $(CVVCV)$  context. There is no clear case of a vowel length contrast under a contour tone; this is also true in CD, where a few apparent contrasts can be given a morphological explanation.

#### c) CANONIC FORM:

The canonic forms  $CV(V)$ ,  $CV(V)C$ ,  $CV(V)CV$ , and  $CVCCV$ , are attested for nouns and verbs, with some longer forms, particularly  $CVC(C)VC$ , for nouns. (As indicated above, the  $C_1$  position may be occupied by glottal stop.)

The restrictions on  $V_2$  are very strong, in Tiba as in CD, but will certainly have slightly different formulations in each language. Unlike CD, these restrictions are bound up, at least where nominals are concerned, with morphological phenomena. We may therefore anticipate on noun morphology in order to summarize the Tiba data as follows:

- CV(V)CV and CVCCV nominals have *i* as  $V_2$  when the term is in nonfinal position; in final position, this vowel becomes *á*. (In the lists provided here, such nouns are written with final *-á*, making them easily distinguishable from CV(V) CV and CVCCV verbs, which have final *-i*.) Nouns with these forms in CD end in either *i* or *a* and are invariable.

The final-vowel tonology of these nouns requires an additional remark: the majority end in *-Cí* or *-Cí* (i.e., downstepped *í*) in nonfinal position; some, however, do not. These will display *-a* bearing a contour tone in final position, and *-i* bearing the first component of that contour in nonfinal position. Actually, only two such possibilities seem to exist: 1) nominals with final *-áá* (cited here with final *-à*), hence nonfinal *-í*; and 2) nominals with final *-áā*, hence nonfinal *-í*, itself followed by downstep.

- There are exceptions to the rule just stated: these include a small number of terms with final *-á* or *-áā* which remain invariable in nonfinal position (i.e., their final vowel does not become *-í*). There is also one attested case of a CVCCV noun behaving like a CVV nominal in both having a final contour tone and being invariant in final and nonfinal positions: *pùglàá* 'armpit'. It may be that the term for 'sickle' alternates between invariance (*bàámsàá*) and variance (nonfinal *bàámsà*, final *bàámsàá*, see 'Noun morphology' below).
- A small number of nouns have final *-àā*; the one case of alternation (*gýsàā*, *gýsýn*) suggests this structure was originally *-ñn-á*. The *-á* marking final position has thus been incorporated into the root, the form in nonfinal position being *(-)/Cā* (with downstepped mid tone).
- There are also CV(V)CV nominals with high  $V_1$  and final *èē* (*wésèē* '(load of) firewood' with mid  $V_1$  being an apparent counterexample), which could conceivably be analyzed as deriving from *-i- + -á* in final position; however, these terms do not change their vowel in nonfinal position (their tone pattern becomes HM). This analysis is therefore better seen as diachronic than as synchronic.
- There are a further three CV(V)CV nouns, *síjì*, a variant of *sìñ*, 'civet cat', *sáátí* 'porcupine', and *jèrí* 'whirlwind', which have root-final *-i* (*-íy?*), giving *-i-á* in utterance-final position.

- Like CD, Tiba allows *CVCum* (also *CyCym*) and *CVCVŋ* (with  $v_1 = v_2$ ). There are also terms with *CVCen* structure corresponding well to CD terms with identifiable *-én* or *-éēn* suffixes, and others which correspond to nothing in CD. (See "Derivational affixes" under II.4.a below.)

- Tiba also has a variety of  $v_1$ - $v_2$  combinations in *CVC(C)VC* terms with final *ŋ* and *k* (and even in one case, final *n*) which are unfamiliar in CD. The possibility that at least some of these terms are original compounds (or even synchronic compounds involving items not yet recorded individually) should be considered.

From the above, it should be clear that the  $v_2$  position does not provide a full set of vowel contrasts. Indeed, final *-i*, whether for nominals or for verbs, is a lax, slightly lower variant of this sound than appears in  $v_1$  (root) position, doubtless owing to this neutralization of contrasts. There is furthermore some tendency to total assimilation when  $v_1$  is either *ɛ* or *y*. (It may be noted that Tiba does not seem to have the *CɛCɛ* and *CɔCɔ* structures found in CD.)

#### d) TONES

Tiba has a three-level tone system, complicated by downstep and grammatical tone alternation.

Downstep occurs automatically (as a mere phonetic realization) after a rising (LH) contour tone. It also occurs syntactically (i.e., as a mark of certain syntactic relationships without necessarily requiring postulation of any "underlying" (deleted) L tone), and as a "surface" phenomenon, i.e., where the deletion of an underlying tone may be supposed. Within lexical units, this underlying tone may be structurally L; but the most frequent deletion affects HM contour tones and patterns ( $C\acute{V}\bar{V} > C\acute{V}/$ ,  $C\acute{V}C(C)\bar{V} > C\acute{V}/C(C)\acute{V}$ ). This situation, resulting from the abundance of such tones and patterns in nominal lexical units (see below), is largely identical to the one in CD.

Tonal alternation in some nouns in associative constructions is described below (noun morphology).

NOUN TONE CLASSES: Note that about one half of all nominals have a HM or H tone pattern; another quarter has MH or M. Other fairly well represented nominal root tone patterns are LH, LHM, HL(M), and L. The others are marginal and perhaps derivable in some way from the above.

Such a situation is historically interpretable in terms of an original two-register system, increased to three by addition of a third infralow level. There is, however, no evident comparative evidence of such a phenomenon (with the exception of the four-level Yendang system, which may have suffered Chadic influence, the languages compared here all have three tones as well). Tiba is, however, rather unusual in displaying unexpected tonal correspondences for very well-attested roots (see, for example, 'louse'; the fact that CD has *láká* for this gloss may help to account for this particular irregularity).

VERB TONE CLASSES: In the material presented here, the majority of transitive verbs appear in simple predications with 3sg subject *kí* (/) and nominal object. It appears that this construction is unfortunately not suited to revealing verb tone-class distinctions. Indeed, most transitive CV(C) verbs have a falling tone, (/)́VCV̄ or V̄CV̄, in this context, the L component being perhaps attributable to the deleted *à*- prefix of the object (although such verbs in elicitation also seem to have a HL tone). This L component disappears when verbs are followed by a nominal object with *á*- prefix or a nonnominal term. These verbs are therefore given in the glossary with H tone. A few transitive CV(C) verbs seem, however, to have L tone in the same context and are so marked, although this may not reflect any real difference in lexical tone. Indeed, some of the verbs which appear several times in the data have either the H/ML contour tone or L tone according to some as yet unidentified feature of the context (perhaps subject tone, object tone, or both).

In the same way, transitive CVCCV verbs have a HL or ML pattern, apparently in (free?) variation. When, in careful speech, the *à*- prefix of the following noun is retained, this pattern becomes MM. Two unexplained cases of HH and five of HM were, however, observed and are cited in the glossary.

A more helpful context for distinguishing transitive verb tone classes seems to be the use of a 3sg pronominal object, *kí*. Indeed, this seems to yield at least three classes, H (H /*kí*), M, and again a very small number of L (M is perhaps sometimes realized H with no



following downstep). Very few CVC(C)V verbs were recorded in this context, and no tone class distinctions were observable (all seem to be M). Verbs cited with M tone in the glossary were observed in this context. It may be noted that, in CD, this context *neutralizes* verb tone-class distinctions.

Another context in which tone classes can be distinguished is that of the perfective suffix *-néá*, which can be used with intransitive verbs (which never take an object) as well as with objectless transitive verbs. Again, three classes can be distinguished: HL, H(/), and L (verbs with HL tone in the glossary were observed in this context; verbs observed with L tone in this context are marked "intr"). The position of downstep after H in this form varies: H/*néá* or H*né/á*. It has been impossible to determine whether or not this variation is conditioned.

A third context in which a number of verbs have been observed is with following locative (*ĩ*) or definite (*ní*, *á*) markers. There are insufficient examples, but a first impression is that this context may disturb the lexical tone patterns of verbs. Tone patterns do, however, contrast there.

A fourth context for determination of verb tone classes may be as the first verb  $V_1$  in a  $V_1$ - $V_2$  sequence. H-, M-, and L-tone verbs may be discernible here, as well as HL.

One final feature requires mention: some verbs have been found to take HL pattern in transitive constructions and L in intransitive ones (these are so marked in the glossary). This precise tone alternation, which may be an inflectional or a derivational phenomenon, is well attested in AD4; it may even be said that the unmarked intransitive form is L, and the unmarked transitive form H, although there are apparently exceptions to this rule.

### II.3. The pronominal system

The following system of *subject pronouns* was obtained:

1S subject <i>m̃</i>	1PL subject <i>wíí</i>
2S subject <i>à</i>	2PL subject <i>míí</i>
3S subject <i>kí</i>	3PL subject <i>wá</i>

These pronouns are apparently obligatory markers, at least for the first verb in a series. In subject function, no other morpheme has been observed to intervene between them and the verb, wherefore they may be considered part of morphology.

The *possessive markers* are directly preposed to the noun they modify (i.e., between the prefix *à-* and the noun root), unlike CD where the possessives are all postposed. The system of these markers is:

1sg ( <i>à-</i> ) <i>mēē-</i>	1pl ( <i>à-</i> ) <i>wētē-</i>
2sg ( <i>à-</i> ) <i>wēē-</i>	2pl ( <i>à-</i> ) <i>mētē-</i>
3sg ( <i>à-</i> ) <i>gúú-</i>	3pl ( <i>à-</i> ) <i>wóóntí-</i>

It would seem, then, that the plural possessives in fact bear the non-final form of the plural suffix. Similar nominalizations seem to provide the "independent" forms of the personal pronouns (i.e., pronouns used in functions other than that of subject marker, e.g., in topicalizations).

These possessives may be used both for nouns which would generally be classified as "alienable" (e.g., 'pot') and for those which would be "inalienable" (e.g., 'head'), in languages which make such distinctions. Some kinship and relational terms (e.g., 'father', 'mother', 'husband'), however, have different forms for the 2sg and/or the 3sg. These are:

2sg suffixed <i>-ǎǎŋ</i>
3sg prefixed <i>´</i> (i.e., the noun prefix becomes <i>á/-</i> )

It is quite curious to note that the 1pl and 2pl forms above seem to be precisely the inverse of the 1sg and 2sg forms. Knowing that informants accustomed to only oral use of language will encounter a certain difficulty in providing "translations" of pronominals, we therefore questioned Awdi insistently about this, but were in the end satisfied that he was indeed giving us the forms we were requesting.

We must now proceed to examine the differences and similarities in the Tiba and CD pronominal systems.

The Tiba 1sg subject pronoun is essentially as in CD; its point of articulation is assimilated in subject position to that of any following consonant. The CD 1sg possessive is postposed *mèè*. (The CD independent 1sg pronoun, however, is *nòk*, for which no Tiba correspondence has yet been observed.)

In CD, the 2sg pronoun is a M-tone nasal in subject position (*à* is a variant in certain contexts and obligatory in imperative forms), but the object pronoun is *-à*. The CD independent 2sg pronoun is *wĩĩ*, related to the postposed possessive *wẽẽ*. There is therefore a good correspondence here with Tiba, though the Tiba 2sg imperative seems to be *yìì*.

CD has no 3sg subject pronoun, but the 3sg independent forms are doubtless derived from *\*gú* 'animate', *\*gí* 'inanimate'. The object form is *kù* (*gù* in Mapeo Chamba); this is also the subject form used in indirect discourse, though it undergoes diverse changes in S-V tone patterns. The CD 3sg possessive is *kẽẽ* (*gẽẽ* in Mapeo Chamba). There is thus again a fairly good correspondence between the two languages.

It may be noted that Tiba *kí*, whether in subject or object position, is apparently followed by downstep. In CD, this feature would normally be associated with a raised L tone.

Furthermore, a usage of this pronoun with a possessive sense has been observed before a following noun, corresponding to a similar usage of the independent pronouns in CD.

The CD 1pl subject pronoun is *á*, the independent form *wóó*, related to the possessive *wòò*. If the Tiba form is to be connected, the vowel change must be explained.

The CD 2pl and 3pl subject marker is *í*. The object markers are likewise identical (*-bú*). The independent 2pl form is in all likelihood derived from an earlier *vú*, the possessive being *vẽẽ*. The independent 3pl is likewise derived from *bú*, with possessive *bẽẽ*. This distinction among the independent pronouns is not, however, invariably maintained, and it is probable that these two forms are in fact doublets of some original form. Tiba thus

differs clearly from CD, both in the form of the 2pl and 3pl elements and in avoiding their confusion.

The Tiba pronominal system thus has points of agreement and of disagreement with the CD system. The agreements may extend to the use of a variant of the 1sg pronoun as the logophoric singular, though this requires textual verification.

DEMONSTRATIVE: Only one demonstrative was repeatedly requested (CD *déen* 'this, that (one in question)' as noun modifier). This is translated as a form *-(i)nk(á/i)* (perhaps involving some unexplained tonal phenomena). Specific questioning yielded no indication of a near/far distinction or other complication making it possible to contrast the Tiba and CD systems. There was also a single instance representing the CD *-àán* demonstrative ('this (here and now)') in *à-mí-yóò* (prefix|day|this) 'today' (CD *mór-àán*).

## II.4. Tiba morphology

### a) NOUN MORPHOLOGY

CLASSIFICATORY INFLECTION: In general, nominals have a prefixed *à-* when they are found in initial position. Some nominals, however, have a high-tone *á-* prefix, followed by downstep, suggesting a structural *áà-*. The nominals with this prefix mostly designate animate beings, although one plant is included (see below). The case of common or cultivated plants being classed grammatically as animate is known from Zande.

Nominal prefixes are segmentally unstable, but their tones may persist. Thus, in more rapid speech, *à-* may drop before a nominal in initial position, particularly when the latter has a (phonetically or phonologically) long, H-tone first vowel, with the L tone of the prefix shifting to the root. An interesting case in this regard is *á/jàánsā* 'tiger nut', confirming that the *á/-* prefix is in fact *á-à-*.

Likewise, *à-* and even *á/-* may drop when the noun follows a verb as its object, but the tone patterns of verbs suggest that the prefix tones shift to them.

Nominals with a canonic form ending in a C suffix *-á* in final position. If, however, the nominal root ends in *-vr*, the nonfinal form ends in *-v* rather than *-vr*.

Nominals with canonic form CV suffix *-á* in final position unless V is *-e-*, *-e-*, *-o-*, *-o-*, or *-ø-*, in which case the vowel is lengthened with an added H tone. Final-vowel alternation in longer canonic forms with final *v* has been described above in the course of the phonological discussion.

Note that this requirement that utterances (in this case, utterances with a final nominal) end in a vowel is a well-known regional feature. CD (or at least certain dialects such as the Mapeo form) distinguish themselves by requiring final *-í*, while CL, for example, resembles Tiba in taking final *-á*.

*Reduplication* is observed in some Tiba nominals. No specific semantic feature can be assigned to it, unless it be a particular association with mass nouns.

PLURAL: the plural is regularly formed by suffixing *-t-(á/í)* to the root. A small number of plurals (involving human beings in the data thus far) are irregular.

It will be noted that in AD4 Pere the plural suffix is *-tò* and that there is a plural suffix *-t* in AD4 Momi.

SYNTACTIC INFLECTION: Tiba has one rule of noun tone alternation which is not present in CD: H and HM nouns undergo a tone change when they are modified by a preceding H or HM noun: they become M (e.g., *lúū* 'yam' + *són* 'staple food' > *lúú /sōn(á)*, *ísí* 'eye' + *sóksá* 'hair' > *í/sí sōksá* 'eyelash').

LOCATIVE: There are two locative noun suffixes, *-né* and *-mé*, similar to the ones found in AD4. More examples are required to determine the conditions of their appearance; a first impression suggests that *-né* is used for position ('at, in, within') and *-mé* is used for movement ('from, to'), although this would be typologically unusual for an African language in this region.

#### DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES:

ADJECTIVIZER: The suffix *-èn* can be added to some nouns to produce a derived adjective. This suffix is doubtless ultimately related to the adjectivizing verb suffix (b.iv below), but the tonological behavior of both requires further clarification.

NOMINALIZER: There is a suffix *-gúr-* which can be added to any (nominal or verbal) adjective to form an abstract nominal, e.g., *péék* 'new', *-pék-/gúr-á* 'newness'. In the case of verbal adjectives ending in *nē*, this suffix may tend to be tonally assimilated (*-gūr-*).

#### b) VERB MORPHOLOGY

INFLECTION: There is undoubtedly tonal inflection of verbs (such inflection has been noted in association with an imperative form, but the data are not sufficient for any conclusions to be drawn). Segmental inflection in the strict sense is not attested, although it is possible to cite a focalizing particle, construed exactly as in CD by suffixation to the verb + object pronoun group: this is *-gú-á*. (It is also used to translate the CD "durative" when it has an emphatic or adversative sense, "definitely, contrary to expectations", indicating that the Tiba durative does not have the same range of meaning.)

DERIVATION: A certain number of likely derivational suffixes are attested in these data. It is not, however, possible to decide whether Tiba must be thought to have a highly developed and productive system like that of CD which is not apparent for reasons of chance distribution, or whether on the contrary it has, as seems to be the case, a more vestigial system like the one found in AD5 ZM. The "suffixes" observed are as follows:

i) The *-si* suffix: Many verbs have the form CVV*si* or CVC*si*. The majority of these are not identifiable as derived from CVV or CVC verbs, respectively, perhaps simply because no possible sources appear in the data. A few are, however, so identifiable, cf. *sýým-* 'be dry', *sýmsì* 'dry (tr)'; *wōp* 'run, fear', *wópsì* 'ride (horse, i.e., make it run)'. These are clearly causative-type derivatives. Others are the same kind of "medial" causatives or benefactives found in CD and elsewhere, e.g., *dōn* 'breathe', *dōnsì* 'rest (i.e., make oneself breathe, breathe for oneself)', while others have more complex agentive relationships: *kýy* 'cut (down), clear

(a field)', *kýýsì* 'chop (into pieces)'. Others still are evident *calques* of CD, e.g., *béksì* 'break, smash', cf. CD *vwēksì*, "frequentative" of *vwék* 'split'.

There are a few verbs of the form *CVsì* with *ɛ* or *e* as *V*<sub>1</sub>. It may be remarked that verbs of this form in CD would be derived from *CVt* verbs; it is difficult to tell whether a similar phenomenon might exist in Tiba.

ii) Other "suffixes": *-ki*, *-li*, *-ti*, *-ri*: The suffix *-ki* is represented by only three *CVCKi* examples, two of them clear CD loans; *-li* appears in only two *CVCLi* verbs, one a Fulfulde loan; *-ti* is used in four *CVCTi* verbs, three of them clear loans from CD, where the corresponding suffix is *-lì*; and *-ri* occurs in two *CVCri* verbs, one being an evident CD loan, and one *CVVri* verb. There are thus only one or two examples of each of these suffixes with a plausible Tiba origin; none of the verbs in question can be related to any corresponding base verb with the possible exception of *jánrì* 'dry (meat)' (< *jāŋ*- 'hot?'). Nothing, then, can be said about the semantic content of these "suffixes". Note, however, that, in CD, the term corresponding to Tiba *bùmkì*- 'resound, be noisy' is a frequentative derivative in *-kì* of a different root, while the term for 'tickle' (Tiba *dīglī*) is also a *CVCLi* verb. Only one *CVCTi* verb (a sort of "diminutive") and no *CVVti* appear in CD. ZM does, however, have *-se* verbs with much the same meaning range as those in Tiba, as well as *-ke* and *-le* suffixes with "intensive" (essentially equivalent to "frequentative") sense, *-le* with "habitual" sense, and a small number of *-te* suffixes with no clear meaning content (see Shimizu 1983: 64-7).

iii) The *verbal noun* suffixes *-m̄* and *-dí̄m*: The verbal noun, or infinitive, is obtained by giving the verb root a M tone pattern and by suffixing *-m̄*, unless the verb has the form *CVm* or *CVn*, in which case the suffix is *-dí̄m*. Like any noun, the verbal noun can take an *à*-prefix and an *-á* suffix. If the noun suffix is *-m̄* and *-á* is added, the result is phonetically [v̄m̄ má̄]. The verb root in the infinitive may be followed by a pronominal object (as in CD) or by a nominal object (unlike CD). In such case, the verb's tones are only determined by its relation to its object, and the infinitive marking is limited to a phrase-final *m̄*.

There is nevertheless a certain number of *CVV* verbs which, for an undetermined reason, are given with suffix *-dí̄m*.

iv) The *adjectivizing suffix -nē*: some stative verbs have a derived adjective with this suffix; it may also be that some adjectives with this suffix derive from verbs no longer in the language. Roots with this suffix are attested with H, M, and LH tones.

## II.5. Word order and proposition marking

Basic word order is SV(O)(C), where C represents predicate and utterance modifiers in general. The preposition of the syntactic object to the verbal noun, attested in CD, has not been observed. Nevertheless, as in CD, Tiba word order in noun phrases is such that a modifying noun precedes the "head" noun, while a modifying "adjective" follows it.

A number of prepositional markers characteristic of CD are also attested in Tiba:

- 1) the definite marker *ní* preceding utterance-final modifiers (CD *é(n)*); a marker *á* or *há* seems to alternate freely with *ní* and is conceivably a direct borrowing from CD;
- 2) the locative marker *(n)ĩ* preposed to noun phrases (perhaps related to the above);
- 3) the locative anaphoric *gáà* preposed to locative terms (also in CD);
- 4) the preadverbial marker *jí* (observed only utterance-finally with the sense "simply", also found in CD).

The following predicate and utterance markers have been observed:

ASPECT: There is an utterance-final marker translating both the "real" marker (-*i*) and the perfective (*gò*) in CD: this is *něá* (presumably *ně* + *-á*) after L tone, *ně/á* or */něá* after H tone.

There are some tonal exceptions: some where the preceding H is itself downstepped or not subject to tone lowering (...*pěť tóm něá* '...work'), and a number of thus far unexplained cases in which the downstep is treated as M and followed by another H (*něāá*).

There is an utterance-final marker translating the CD durative (*tēē*): this is *jā-á*. It may be preceded by the definite *ní* (CD *é tēē*).



NEGATIVE: There is an utterance-final negative marker: *dá*. Its compatibility with aspect markers was not tested.

INTERROGATIVE: There is an utterance-final interrogative marker *-è*, identical with CD. (In CD, this marker is used in verbal propositions only if the verb is in the absolute affirmative form.)

## II.6. Conclusion

We believe that the data presented here authorize us to conclude that our informant Awdi was indeed fully bilingual in Chamba Daka and Tiba, and that he maintained a clear separation between the two systems at almost all times (excepting perhaps only a small set of lexical items). We may stress that, while many features of the two language systems resemble each other, Tiba may be found in some cases to have a more complex system than CD. Furthermore, the lexical correspondences show precisely the irregularities we would expect for languages which have had a long period of contact involving borrowing at different historical stages.

The full set of lexical data recorded appears below. Terms marked by an asterisk (\*) are those which are identical in Tiba and CD, allowing for regular correspondences (e.g., CD *q* = Tiba *ɛ*) and uncertainty regarding verb tonology, or display only minor tonal variations, making CD a likely source. Corresponding CD items and comparative remarks on a wider scale appear after a bar (|). The conventions of language notation are as in part I, but Tiba nominals are presented without their affixes, except where they prefix *á*-. (Consequently, since, in Tiba as in CD, the intervocalic labial plosive is phonetically [b], the dental plosive is [r], but the velar plosive is [k], while in final position all plosives are unvoiced [p, t, k], noun roots with final plosive will appear below with final *b, r, k* after deletion of the *-á* suffix; while verbs will have final *p, t, k*, corresponding to the citation form.)

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## LIST 2: A TIBA-ENGLISH GLOSSARY WITH ADAMAWA COGNATES

*á*, exceed, surpass | cf. AD4 Momi *ar-*, Pere *yór-* 'pass'

*ǎ*, gather, scoop up

*árǎŋ*, fry | CD *nyānglì* (possible metathesis)

*án*, open (wide), yawn (+ *óórá*) | a widespread ideophonic root: CD *yáá yáā*, AD2 Chamba

Leko (CL) *yā*, AD4 Momi *agǎn-*, Pere *àà-*, Dii *áá*, AD5 Yendang *hánk-*, AD6 Kare *ʼá*

*áp*, seek

*ápsì*, feel, touch (prob. < *áp* 'seek')

*ǎŋkpǎā*, mouth (also *ǎŋ*, language, speech) | AD4 Pere *yāgò*, Dii *yāg*, AD5 Yendang *yák*,

AD6 Karang *nzák* are conceivably cognate with this (probably compounded) root

*ǎǎŋ*, arm, adj. *ǎŋnèē*, relating to the arm (see list 1)

*ǎǎŋ*, name | AD5 Yendang *ǎk*

*ǎŋ*, know | cf. AD13 Kulaal *ǎn*, Niellim *ʼùnà*

*é*, dry (something in the sun) | CD *yēri*, AD4 Momi *yend-*, Pere *yǎr-*, Dii *yèʼ*, AD5 Zing

Mumuye (ZM) *yà*, AD6 Kare *yé* 'dry'

*ék*, tear, rip, pluck | AD4 Dii *yèʼ* 'split'

*éŋ*, egg (see list 1)

\**ék*, burp | CD *yák*

*ésì* (HH?), cough | CD *wūsì*, cf. AD6 Kare *hèl*

*îl*, lie, lie down, sleep | AD4 Dii *īl*

*īīn*, tooth (see list 1)

*ísá*, mat (MH?) (see list 1)

*ísā* (*ésāʼ*), eye (see list 1)

\**ísèn*, broom | CD *yìsèn*

*óŋ*, bee (see list 1)

\**órēn*, cold | CD *wárēn*

*ónsì*, lick

*óóìnà*, who? | AD5 ZM *wò*

*ó*, wash (oneself) | AD4 Dii *yòḡ* 'wash something', AD5 ZM *welè*, *wolè*, Yendang *hù-*  
'bathe', AD6 Karang *wòk*, Kare 'òì

(*y*)*óōn*, nose (see list 1)

*óórá* (or *ór*), yawn (n)

\**úk*, hear, feel | CD *wúk*, cf. the reflexes of Proto-Plateau (PP) \*fwak

*ý*, knead | cf. AD4 Dii *vù* 'pound (flour)'

*ȳ* (*nē*)-, cool (as shade) | AD2 CL *wùm*

*ýp*, crush (under foot)

\**ȳrȳm*, ancestor spirit | CD *wùrú(ū)m*; cf. AD4 Dii *yòḡb*

*ýsì* (HH?), suck

*ýsì*, twist, wring (perhaps identical with the preceding term) | cf. AD4 Pere *vì-*

*ýsȳn*, breast (see list 1)

*bá*, leopard (see list 1)

\**bàk*, follow | CD *bàk*, also AD2 CL *bàg* AD2 CL *gbá* 'move away'

\**bàk*, stick, block | CD *bàk*

*bám*, big (be) | CD *gbóóm*, AD5 Yendang *gbán* 'be heavy', AD2 CL *gbàá*

\**bàámsà(r)*, sickle | CD *gbòómsà*, AD2 CL *gbòómsà*, AD4 Momi *gamsaz*, but Pere *gbànè*

*bāṅkùlúūṅ*, elbow

\**bàr(ù)b*, twin | CD *bàrùp*, AD2 CL *bàdāp*

\**béēb*, money | CD *béēp*

*bén*, granary | AD4 Pere *binè*, cf. CD *bóón*, AD2 CL *bón*, AD5 ZM *bóq̃*; AD4 Dii *váj*

\**bèréèŋ*, gazelle (kind of) | CD *bérèng*, AD2 CL *bédèŋ*

\**bì*, seed, kind (*bí* as N2) | CD *bìi*

\**b̥ìi*, quiver (for arrows) | CD *b̥èèŋ*

\**bōksì*, accompany | CD *bōksì*

*bòr*, big | CD *wàrí*, pl. *wòpsá*, AD4 Pere *bògàrè*, AD5 ZM *bòrò* are all likely cognates  
*búmlá*, round

*búŋ*, kill | cf. CD *bùt*, AD4 Momi *but-s-* 'kill a sleeping animal'

*býýrì*, draw, decorate with drawing | AD4 Momi *bii-*, AD5 ZM *bii* but Yendang *v̥ēē-*; cf. CL  
*bād*

\**ḃá* (*ḃà* with subject *m̃* '1sg'), come | CD *báá*, rarely with sense 'come' in AD, but cf. AD4

Pere *bá-* 'come forward'; however, AD2 CL *ḡbá'* 'move away'

*ḃák*, hug, embrace, cradle | CD *kḡák*, AD4 Pere *kḡà-*, *kḡàŋ-*

*ḃák*, knife (see list 1)

*ḃàk*, bushcow (see list 1)

*ḃáksì* (+ *túū* 'head'), think, worry about

*ḃáámá*, midst

\**ḃán*, farm (vb) | CD *bààn*, AD4 Momi *baa-*, Pere *bàà-*, Dii *bàà*, but AD6 Karang *pā*, AD13

Kulaal *wáy*, Niellim *wāy*

\**ḃān*, field, farm | CD *bāān*, AD4 Momi *bant*, Dii *bāb*, but AD6 Karang *pàì*, AD13 Kulaal

*ùààl*, Niellim *wáál*

*ḃé-síḃá*, (down on) ground | cf. perhaps CD *bēn* for the initial element

*ḃéē*, bushbuck | cf. CD *b̥ay*, AD4 Momi *bayamz* 'duiker', Dii *bál* 'kob'

*ḃēk*, (clay) dish

\**ḃéksì*, break, smash | ideophonic root: CD *v̥wēksì*, cf. AD6 Karang *v̥wēh* 'cut' and even

AD13 Niellim *ḃàgrì*

*ḃé*, leg (see list 1)

\**ḃēŋ*, bring | CD *bēnì*, cf. AD13 Kulaal *wēn*

*ḃēēŋ*, two (see list 1)

*ḃí*, lie, tell lies (+ *léēm*) | cf. AD4 Pere *mìi-* + 'tongue'

*ḃíŋsì*, refuse | AD5 ZM *bèn*

*ḃíp*, ask, ask for | cf. AD4 Dii *vì*, AD5 Yendang *ḃí-*, AD6 Karang *v̥wī*

*bóom*, wound, sore

*bóon*, *bòn*, cut, slash; split (intr); break (as day)

*bón*, river (see list 1)

*bó*, bean

*bó*, throw | AD4 Dii *gbò*, AD6 Karang *vwū*

\**bòb*, blind(ness) | CD *bòp*

*bòb*, dance (n)

*bóp*, dance (vb) | possible cognate in AD13 Niellim *bōn*

*bórùm*, thunder, lightning | CD *bóq̄*, AD4 Dii *bóq̄*, cf. AD6 Karang *pómnā*; but also CD *bélùm*, AD4 Momi *bulmi* 'flame' (see *yér(i)má* 'flame')

*bùmki* (intr), resound, be noisy

*búūŋ*, ash, dust | CD *būnā* 'dust'; \**buŋ* is PP and Proto-Jukun

*búŋsā*, (harmattan) wind

*býȳ*, dog (see list 1)

*býmsā*, brain(s) | CD *bólòmsí*, AD4 Pere *bórè*; note AD6 Karang *lī-pám*

*bȳr*, white | CD *būrki*, AD2 CL *bīd*, AD4 Momi *bu(ni)* 'white', *bur*- 'be white', Pere *búi*, Dii *bú* 'be white', AD6 Karang *búi*, but also *pùki*, cf. AD5 ZM *puru*

*dá*, copulate | CD *léén*, AD5 ZM *laa*

*dá*, take out, remove

\**dábri*, wrap (in leaves to cook) | CD *dābri*, AD2 CL *dàp*

\**dāŋdāŋ*, bitter | CD *dāŋdāŋ*

*dáásì*, choose, select (< *dáà* 'remove')

*dén*, cloth, clothing

*dēn*, vagina

*dí*, press

*dī(nē)*-, heavy, prob. < *dí* 'press' | CD *dīŋdīŋ*, but initial continuant elsewhere: AD4 Dii *zìi*, AD6 Ka

*dīī*, long | CD *dēŋrī* 'long, far', AD4 Dii *dīi*, AD6 Karang *dī* 'far'

*dīglī*, tickle | AD6 Kare *díkìlì*, cf. CD *gēnglì*

*dīŋ* (perhaps *dīīŋ*), eyebrow

*dīpsá*, cloud

\**dók*, plant (vb) | CD *dòk*, also AD4 Momi *dokw*- but AD2 CL *dóp*

\**dóm*, greet | CD *dóóm*, AD2 CL *dóm*

*dón*, sing

*dóōŋ*, misery, poverty | related to AD5 ZM *rán* ?

*dù* (or *dỳ*), ridge (in farm)

*dúūk*, mountain (see list 1)

\**dùk* (intr), finish, come to an end | CD *dùk*, cf. *tý* 'finish' below, AD2 CL *dùg*

*dùk*- stomach (but syntactically adjectival) | cf. ZM *dùku* 'skin bag'

\**dúksì*, finish, be used up | CD *dúksì* < *dùk*

*dùm* (intr), collapse, fall off, down

*dùm*, short, shallow

\*(*á*)/*dúma gàn*, vulture | CD *dúma gàn*, AD2 CL *dúma*

\**dùngbàl*, hippopotamus | CD *dùngkpàlì*, AD2 CL *dùngbàl*

\**dúntì* (HH?), deceive | CD *dūnglì*

*dý*, wet, moisten, soak | cf. AD4 Momi *yii*-; perhaps ultimately connected with CD *dùrí* 'rain'

*dýn* (intr), go (in) | AD4 Pere *dó*-, Dii *dó*, but Momi *tor*-; also AD6 Karang *rìh*

*dýr*, deep | AD4 Pere *lùù*-, AD5 Yendang *tín*- 'be deep'

*d'à* (intr), break, shatter (from falling) | AD5 ZM *daasè* 'break (a piece) off', AD6 Karang

*dòr*, Kare *dòrò*

*dě*, taste | AD5 Yendang *lék*-, AD6 Karang *lēh*; cf. AD4 Momi *doo*'

*dě*, testicles

*dē*, granary

*dē*, put, place | AD4 Momi *de*-(s-), Dii *'yé*

*dēk*, forget | AD6 Karang *yèkrē*

*dē*, other

\**dĩ*, burn (tr), light (fire) | CD *dìi* but AD2 CL *dír*, according to Kleinewillinghöfer (pers. comm.), Bambuka in the Bikwin group has *lìi*

*dīŋ*, navel

*dōb*, in-law

*dōbēn*, cowife

*dōōk*, mouse | AD5 Yendang *ròk* 'kind of (domestic) rat'

*dǒn*, breathe | AD4 Momi *dōŋ* 'groan', Pere *dù*- 'blow, snore'; however, CD *gòŋ*, AD2 CL *gòŋ*, AD4 Momi *yōŋs*-, AD5 ZM *gnō* 'snore', these last three 'snore'

*dónsì* (< *dón* 'breathe'), rest | same derivation in CD *gōngsì*; but AD5 ZM *wnòkè*; cf. AD6

Karang *òk*

*dóōŋ*, hip (joint); thigh | cf. AD2 CL *dūn*, A4 Pere *dōrè*, Dii *dōō*, all 'leg'

*dōō káāŋ*, matriclan (compound with N2 'face'?)

*dūk*, penis | AD4 Dii *ndòg*, but Momi *deek*; AD6 Karang *ndìw*

*dūum*, perhaps also *dúmà*, back (> *dūm* 'behind') (see list 1)

*dúmsā*, urine | cf. AD2 CL *wòòm*, AD6 Karang *tóm*

*dūŋ*, hole | CD *dōō*, AD4 Momi *duur*, but CL *déél*, Pere *dālè*; also AD5 ZM *tog*; AD6

Karang *lókō*

*fāktì* (intr), tasteless, insipid

*fě*, burn (tr/intr) | CD *píí*, AD2 CL *pě*, AD4 Dii *pì* 'be hot', AD6 Kare *pìù* 'singe'

*fě*, twenty

*fěēn*, moon, also *fěŋ* /*wī* 'stars' (see list 1)

*fěsì*, full, complete (be)

*fǐ*, take (staple food with fingers)

*fún(n)ì*, begin (< Fulfulde *fudā*?)

*gá*, illness

*gá*, get, receive | CD *gààn*

*gāā*, strainer (for beer), sifter (for flour); also fishtrap | AD4 Pere *gáy* 'fishtrap', cf. CD *gẹ̀ẹ̀*

*gāá*, road (see list 1)

*gāá*, Tiba

\**gām*, horn | CD *gāām*

\**gàŋ*, chief (see list 1)

\**gāāŋ-túnén*, donkey | CD *gàng-pén-túnén*

*gàāŋ* (*sātāā*, i.e., 'sour'), pepper | AD5 ZM *gán zin* where the meanings of *zin* are 'clot of blood' and 'fish'

*gàngár*, drum (kind of) | < Hausa *gàngá*

*gáp*, count | AD5 ZM *gna*, Yendang *gān-*, AD6 Kare *ngè* (also *ké*), but non-nasal elsewhere: AD2 CL *gád*, AD4 Momi *ga'-*, Pere *gáár-(do)*

\**gápsì* (HM?), divide, distribute (adj. *gāpsé(nē)*- 'forked') | CD *gāpsì*



*gāāsá*, (dry) season | AD4 Pere *gāā*, Dii *gāāg*, but AD6 Karang *káy*, Kare *kéò*  
*gàsì* (HM?), think (about), recall | AD4 Pere *gèl-*, cf. AD6 Karang *kèr*  
*\*gānsì* (HM?), strain, sift | CD *gāāsì*  
*gāṅsā*, fly (n) (see list 1)  
*gāṅ*, hunch (on back) | cf. AD5 Yendang *kúkī*; also CD *gāy*, AD2 CL *gād*  
*gāṅ*, large potsherd | CD *gír*  
*gēcē*, sorrel  
*gēc*, cross (river)  
*gēcēk*, (bambara) groundnut  
*gēk*, grave | CD *gāká*, AD4 Pere *gāgò*  
*gém*, scream, dream, nightmare (also a verb, 'affect (as a bad dream)')  
*gén*, break, snap (tr) | AD4 Pere *gə-* 'break (tr)' with derivative *gəl-* 'break into pieces (tr)'  
*gēn*, medicine | CD *gāqān*, AD2 CL *gān*, AD5 ZM *gnān*, but AD4 Momi *geṅbāz*, Pere *gaabò*,  
Dii *gām*  
*\*gèn* (intr), flow | CD *gèèn*  
*gérá*, guinea-corn (see list 1)  
*géséṅ*, scorpion  
*gíik*, chest | cf. AD2 CD *gíil*, AD5 ZM *gìñ*, but CD *gàngà*, AD4 Pere *gògī*, *gàgsàlè*, AD6  
Kare *gòṅ*  
*gim*, smelly (be) | cf. CD *gúún*, AD6 Kare *gùnè* 'smelly'  
*\*gít*, abstain | CD *gìt*  
*gītáámá*, green  
*gó*, pay (back)  
*gón*, answer  
*\*gòṅsá*, breath | CD *gòṅsì*, see the doublet *gbàṅsá* 'snoring' below  
*gō*, catch, seize | CD *gùt*, AD4 Pere *gùù-*, AD5 Yendang *gò-* but AD2 CL *kò*  
*gù* (intr), fall  
*\*gūb*, thorn | CD *gūp* (cf. AD4 Momi *kəpt*)  
*(á)gýsàā*, also *gýsýn*, pigeon  
  
*gbá*, call, call out | AD5 ZM *baa* (+ *nyaa* 'mouth')  
*gbá*, vomit  
*gbá*, dig, dig up | AD2 CL *gbə'*, AD5 ZM *gbmaa*  
*gbák*, grind (dry grain) | CD *gòk*

*gbák*, slip

*gbāám*, blood (see list 1)

*gbāntilóór*, (earth)worm

(á/)*gbáŋ*, bird (see list 1)

*gbàŋsá*, snoring | CD *gbāngsì* 'groan' (compare *dón* 'breathe', *gòŋsá* 'breath')

*gbàŋsì* (intr), finish, run out | AD4 Momi *gbams-*, Pere *bàm-*, AD5 Yendang *gōós-*

*gbéē*, forest

*gbér*, dassie

*gbōóm*, heart (see list 1)

*gmésì*, move, shift (tr) | CD *gbāsì*; cf. AD2 CL *gbá* 'move away', AD4 Dii 'mè' 'move near'

*gmòp* (intr), crawl

*hám*, salt

*háp*, bind, wrap (up)

*hárā*, headpad | cf. AD2 CL *kālā* (with a wider sense 'rolled thing, rolling thing', AD4 Pere

*kàarè*, Dii *kāā*, AD5 Yendang *kántán*; however, CD *yérī*

*hāŋ*, guinea-corn (see list 1)

*hāŋmā* (or *kāŋmā?*), rain, saliva (see list 1)

*já* (or *jāā* or *jā*), laziness | CD *jààlén* 'lazy person', AD6 Kare *zòzò*

*já*, smear, anoint; step (in something sticky)

*ják*, cook, brew | AD6 Karang *nzē* but CD *sāki*

\**jām* (intr), stand (up), swell (adj *jām(nē)-*) | CD *jààm*

(á/)*jàánsá*, tiger nut | CD *jāān* but AD5 ZM *sàn*, Yendang *tánká*

*jánrì*, dry (meat) (< *jāŋ-?*)

*jāŋ(nē)-*, hot, feverish (be) | AD4 Dii *zágā* 'sun', AD6 Karang *záŋnā* 'fever', Kare *zàŋ*

\**jāāy*, tendon | CD *jāāy*, AD2 CL *zèèè*

*jēē*, scabies | AD5 ZM *znàkn*

*jēmká*, stranger, outsider | cf. AD4 Momi *genz*, AD5 ZM *zanti*, Yendang *zántá*, cf. *sènèn*

*jērá*, locust | cf. AD5 ZM *zòro*

*jèrí*, whirlwind

*jé*, see | AD5 ZM *zè*

*jíí*, night (see list 1)

*jíí*, theft, thief | CD *yílēn* < *yíí* 'steal'

*jībàr*, pocket | < Fulfulde *jiiba*

*jintá*, (cooking) pot (apparently singular though plural in form) (see list 1)

*jínjín*, also *jínà* (in compounds, e.g., *ón jínà* 'bee water', i.e., honey), *jíjín*, water (see list 1)

\**jīnlāār*, hyena | CD *jīnglāā*

*jō*, on, upon | CD *jūm*

*jóób*, poison | AD5 ZM *znópo*, Yendang *zōn*

*jóm*, squat | CD *jòòm*

\**jón*, laugh (vb) | CD *jòn*

*jòōn*, *jóná*, red | AD5 Yendang *yōntí*

*jè* (?), laughter | CD *jóná*, AD4 Pere *zònè*, Dii *zōm*

\**jū*, up(wards) | CD *jūū*

*jūm*, flour | CD *jōōm*, AD2 CL *zāām*, AD5 ZM *zuman*, but AD6 Karang *sóm*, AD13

Niellim *hùm*

*jún*, mortar | AD5 ZM *dun*

*jún*, pound

*jý*, pour

*jýý* (*jý*, *jýý* after *í* 'locative' or as DO without modifier), house, room (see list 1)

\**kámkì*, gather (tr) | CD *kāmki* (frequentative of *kāmi*)

*kán*, anklet

*kán*, find, meet | AD4 Dii *kàn*, cf. AD5 ZM *kosè*

*kán*, tie (prob. another sense of the preceding verb) | cf. AD2 CL *kāasá* 'corde', AD6 Karang

*ngāh*

*kāān*, cobra

*kāntá* or *kāntá*, calabash

*kāntá*, tortoise | cf. AD4 Dii *kpārgád*

*káará*, wing, feather

*kánsi*, join, meet (< *kán*)

*káān*, face, forehead

*kāŋ*, neck (see list 1)

*kāŋkílāā* (invariable?), chicken (see list 1)

\**kāsí*, strainer (for flour) | CD *kāsí*

*kéè*, cough (n) | AD5 Yendang *kól-* (vb)

*ké*, say, speak

\**kèlùm* (also attested *-kèlùm-*, *-kèlūm-*, pl. *kèlùmtá*), baobab | CD *kèlūùm*

\**kémjĩ*, monkey (see list 1)

\**kéé*, refuse | CD *káá*

\**kèr*, mad(man) | CD *kèr*, AD2 CL *kèréd*

\**kèkèkè*, hedgehog | CD *káákáá*, AD2 CL *káagá*

\**kénsì*, bother, disturb | CD *kānsì*

*késā*, (rainy) season | cf. PP \**kwas*

*kēsá*, side (of body), rib cage

\**kilèn*, loan | CD *kilēn*

*kīn*, one (see list 1)

\**kínéēn*, leper, leprosy | CD *kínéēn*

\**kisēn*, slave, captive (see list 1)

(*á*)/*kíyāā*, (in) front, before

*kó* or *kón*, carry (a child on the back) | CD *kōlì*, AD4 Pere *kúú-*, AD5 ZM *kpmáá*

*kò*, put on (clothes)

\**kók*, rub | CD *kók*, cf. AD5 Yendang *kpòs-*

*kóm*, urinate

\**kóm*, arrive | CD *kóóm*

\**kònàr*, smallpox | CD *kònà*

\**kòŋlāār*, elephant (see list 1)

\**kóŋtì*, gather, pile up | CD *kōŋlì*; also AD5 Yendang *gòò-*

\**kóp*, draw, fetch (water) | CD *kóp*, AD2 CL *kòp* 'puiser partiellement'; also note AD5 Dii  
*kò*

*kō*, guinea-fowl | CD *kāā*, AD4 Pere *kùr*, Dii *kòpò*, AD6 Karang *kpèh* but Kare *kòrè* 'perdrix',  
cf. 'chicken'

\**kō*, (enclosure) mat | CD *kōpō*

*kòpòr* (intr), thin (be)

*kónsì*, untie

*kú*, sweep | CD *kūrì*, AD4 Momi *koor-s-*, AD5 ZM *kòpò*

*kù* (intr), old (be) (person)

*kūk*, *kūkú*, grandmother | compare CD *kāk*, AD2 CL *kàá*, also AD13 Kulaal *káá*, Niellim *kàà*

*kūlūŋ*, boat | root with an unusual distribution: apparent cognates exist in AD13, e.g., Niellim *kwáā:r*, pl. *kórgē*, but may spread as far as Ubangi Zande *kùrúŋbà*; also note Fulfulde *koombowal*

\**kúmtì*, make (a fist) | CD *kūmlì*

*kūŋlún*, shoulder | cf. AD4 Pere *kòòlè* and 'neck' (list 1)

*ký*, cut (down), clear (a field) | AD2 CL *kò* 'cut off (road)', AD5 ZM *kò* 'cut (in two)', Yendang *gō*- 'cut (down)'

*ký*, bright, clear (be)

*kýýsì*, chop (into pieces) (< *ký* 'cut (down)')

*kýr*, (wrist-, ankle-)bone, joint

*kýý*, hare | CD *kùt*

*kméè*, pull (up, out)

*kmēk*, squirrel

*kpà*, cut, break off (tr/intr) | AD4 Dii *kpàn*, *kpāā*

*kpá*, skin | AD5 ZM *kọọ*

*kpām*, joking partner | CD *kpōōm*

*kpàŋgúmtā* groundnut(s) (see list 1)

\**kpát*, weed (a field) | CD *kpát*

*kpé*, fish, go fishing | AD4 Momi *gbee*-, AD5 Yendang *kpèès*-, both 'fish by bailing'; cf. AD2 CL *kpē*'fishhook'

*kpìksímsá*, chin

*kpìŋ*, nest

\**kpìsáār*, billy-goat | CD *pìsáā*

\**kpōŋáār*, deaf | CD *kpóngáā*, AD CL2 *kpūùŋ* ~ *gbūùŋ*

*lǎā*, belly (see list 1)

*lǎā*, sleep (n) | invariable final nasal: CD *lǎām*, AD2 CL *lǎām*, AD4 Momi *rām*, Pere *nām*,

Dii *nām*, AD5 ZM *nú-rǎn*, AD6 Karang *nám*, except AD5 Yendang (*nǎǎ*)-*róó*

*là* (intr), fall (as rain) | always initial nasal elsewhere: CD *nàà*, AD2 CL *nān*, AD4 Dii *nān*,

AD5 Yendang *ná-*

(*á*)/*lágòn*, chameleon | cf. AD5 Yendang *gōnlí*

*làk*, forge (vb) | AD2 CL *là*, cf. AD2 CL *lèn*, AD4 Dii *làgā* both 'sharpen'

*là̄m*, lost (be) | cf. AD4 Pere *lěē*, AD5 ZM *rín*

*lǎàn*, cry (vb) | cf. AD4 Dii *lég*, AD6 Kare *rě-rě̀*

\**lǎn*, surround | CD *láng*

*lǎnsá*, side of face | CD *lǎngsǐ* 'temple'; also AD4 Pere *làrǎn*, AD6 Koh *lāākùn*

*lěká* (pl. *lěkétá*), blacksmith (see list 1)

*lěēm*, lie (in *bñ lémā* 'tell lies', cf. *lér* 'tongue')

*lěēn*, grinding stone | AD5 ZM *réé*; cf. CD *nààn*, also AD2 CL *nāgǎl*, AD5 Yendang (*ú/-*)*nǎ*

*lén*, drip | AD4 Dii *lég* 'flow'

\**lép*, buy | CD *lép*, cf. AD4 Momi *yiip-*; \*dyap is PP

\**lépsì*, sell | CD *lēpsì*

*lér*, tongue (see list 1)

*lěérá*, louse | AD2 CL *lǎd* 'flea', AD4 Pere *lààrè*, Dii *lèèd*, AD5 ZM *rnèèti*, Yendang *rě̀rě̀sǐ*

\**lěérá*, flute | CD *lě́érá* (a regional root: AD2 CL *lě́éd*, AD4 Momi *liirǎz*, also AD4 Dii *lètě̀tề̀d*)

*lě̀sì*, *lè̀sì*, spoil (tr), rot, spoil (intr) | CD *lě̀sì* 'moisten', AD4 Pere *líi-*, AD5 ZM *lèsè*

*lě́*, grass, bush (cf. *pé lě́* /*pě́* 'animal (thing-bush-thing)')

*lě́*, prepare, get ready | cf. AD2 CL *lèb*, AD4 Pere *lè*, Dii *lè*, AD5 Yendang *ré-*, all 'produce, give birth'

\**lě́*, scar, blemish | CD *lě́*, AD2 CL *lèm*

(*á*)/*lí*, when?

*lí* (+ *báámá*), sky, above | AD2 CL *lēg*

*líi*, village | AD2 CL *līgǎ* 'compound, family', AD4 Pere *līgò*, Dii *līg*, AD5 Yendang *lě́*, all 'house'; also AD13 Niellim *líi-*, Kwa *líē*, both 'house'; \*di is PP for 'compound, house'

\**líik* (*líkā* ?), dirt(y) | CD *líkā*, cf. AD2 CL *līgǎd*, also AD4 Dii *lógód* 'be dirty'; \*dik is PP

(*á*)/*lín*, (day after) tomorrow | cf. AD2 CL *límtǎ* 'morning'

*līn*, between, through

*lípsì*, sell, hawk

*líntá*, gut, intestine | cf. CD *nàgrí*

\**lípsì*, turn, change | CD *lípsì*, AD2 CL *líp*, *lím* but also AD5 ZM *rì*

*líísā*, smoke

*lōk*, take | AD5 Yendang *lā-*, also AD4 Dii *lò*, but the root have a Chadic source, cf. Bata *lù*  
'take, get'

*lókā* or *lóká*, cry (n) | CD *lōkì* 'speak, tell'

*lóōm*, war (see list 1)

*lūū*, yam | AD2 CL *dūd*, AD5 ZM *lqoti*

*lūk*, lump (on body, head)

*lūūmòr*, market | < Fulfulde *luumo*

*lùmsá*, man

(*á*)/*lūūmsá*, husband (cf. 'man')

*lúūŋ*, knee (see list 1)

*lỳ*, move (residence, *jýy*) | AD4 Dii *lúū* 'go away'

\**lýȳm*, male | CD *lúùm*

*lỳn* (intr; also *lýlỳn* for 'get, stand up?'), get up, fly | CD *dùm*, AD4 Momi *ruu-*, Pere *lú-*,  
Dii *lùū* 'lift', AD5 ZM *dù*, AD6 Karang *zq̄*; also note Bata *lì* (apparently not a  
reconstructible Chadic root, Carnochan 1975)

*lýnsì*, raise, throw up, make fly

*má*, knead, work (mud, clay), build (building) | CD *māki*, AD2 CL *mà* 'make, do', AD5 ZM  
*maa*, Yendang *māā-*, but AD4 Dii *mbōō*, AD6 Karang *mbōh*

\**mák*, show | CD *māk*, AD2 CL *màg* 'imiter, désigner, mesurer'

\**máká díkār* (*máká* invariable?), (red) millet | CD *máká* (meaning of second element in Tiba  
unknown)

\**máksi*, try, try on, out | CD *māksi* < *māk*

*mékā*, green, unripe

*mékā*, paste

*mēsímsā*, dew | CD *mēnsán*, AD2 CL *mīisā*, AD4 Momi *met*, Pere *mērè*, Dii *mēd*, AD6  
Karang *mím*, but AD5 Yendang *mōō* (vs. *mếế* 'water')

*mí*, day

*mí*, door (< *mí* 'open, close') (see list 1)

*mĩĩ*, excrement

*mĩ*, close, open

*mĩŋ*, shave

*mĩ-wà*, day before yesterday

*mó*, bear, give birth to | AD6 Karang *mbũŋ*; cf. AD4 Dii *mbóg* 'fix, get ready'

*mó* (*mò* with object *tĩ* 'tree'), climb

*múná*, earth

*ná* (*nà* with indirect object *wě* 'child'), give | CD *nyáá*, AD5 ZM *an*; this form reappears in  
AD13: Kulaal *néé*, Niellim *nā*

*ná* (*nà* with object *pě* 'thing'), do | CD *nàk*

*náksā*, cow (see list 1)

\**nàmèn*, crocodile (see list 1)

*nān*, *nāàn*, how?, how much? | CD *nyāā*, *nyákā*, AD2 CL *lā*, *lěč*, AD4 Momi *na(ŋee)*, AD5  
ZM *dnee* 'how much', AD6 Karang *ánĩ*, Mbum *nánĩĩ* 'how'

*nè*, four (see list 1)

*nèé* (pl. *nĩĩ*), person | CD *nèé*, AD2 CL *néŋ*, AD4 Pere *nán*

*nēk*, owner | AD6 Kare *nàá*

*nēŋnéŋ*, axe

*nĩ*, mother (but *nə́ǵǵá* 'your mother'); cf. *nĩ-wě*, sibling (mother's child) | AD5 ZM *yina*,  
Yendang *yén* (with prefix *yV-*?)

*nĩŋ*, drum (see list 1)

\**nĩŋsì*, hurry | actually CD *nĩŋsèn* < *nĩŋsì* 'make tremble', AD2 CL *nĩŋ* 'tremble' >  
*nĩŋsə̀̀n* 'hurry'

\**nò*, (oracle) poison | CD *nòpò*

*nóksì*, enough, equal (be) | CD *nēkèn*

*nōm(nē)*-, good, pleasant, tasty | AD2 CL *lām*, AD4 Dii *nēm* 'be salty'

\**nòm*, anger | CD *nòòm*, AD2 CL *nòm*

*nòntà*, root | cf. AD5 Yendang *nínkǵn*; \**nan* is PP

*nóósì* (HM?), shake

(*tó*)/*nùk*, (bow)string

*nũŋ*, locust bean tree

*nũŋgũr*, locust bean (tablet)



*núŋmā*, wax

*pá*, put in, on (as hat, shoes) | CD *pàk*, AD2 CL *páàn*, AD4 Dii *pàg*

(*bóŋ*) *pà*, (river)bed, gully

*páān*, place

*pát*, all | a regional term attributable to Fulfulde

*péēk*, new | AD4 Momi *pā(-ni)* but AD6 Mbum *fěké*, Koh *fĩē*

*pě*, go | cf. AD2 CL *pā* 'take, carry', AD4 Momi *pee* 'take away'; also Dii *hě* 'go off, away'

*pěế*, thing | CD *pén*; cf. AD2 CL *in*, AD4 Pere *ēnè*, Dii *hēn*, AD5 Yendang *hě*, AD6 Karang *fě*

*pì* (intr), return, go back, change (into) | CD *pèè* (compare *pīrì* 'put back'), AD4 Pere *pìn* 'do again' but *fīl* 'change into', AD6 Kare *fěŕě*; cf. 'exchange': AD2 CL *péèn*, AD4 Dii *pí*

\**pīí*, Beni seed | CD *pīí*

\**pígèē*, maize (see list 1)

\**pìlāŋ*, (large) basket | CD *pìlàng*, a regional root (AD2 CL *pìlām*)

*píŋmá*, charcoal | AD6 Karang *hěkrē*

*pó*, butcher, cut open

*pūglá*, flowering (of plants) | CD *pūgrì* 'flower (vb)'

*pùglà*, armpit

*púūk*, *púkū*, (maternal) uncle | cf. CD *póp*, AD4 Dii *pāā*

*pūk* (*pūká?*), bark (of tree), shell | CD *pōkō*

*pýý*, viper | AD4 Dii *kpùù*

*pýýgē*, cassava | CD *pīī-gōō*

*pýn*, tired (be) | CD *pút*

*pýn*, fatigue

\**sáà*, (father's other) wife | CD *sáà*

\**sā*, net | CD *sāā*, AD2 CL *sād*

*sá*, ooze, have diarrhea (+ *mín*) | CD *sáá*, AD4 Dii *sōō* 'leak', AD5 ZM *sōo*, but *san* 'forge',

Yendang *sá* - 'ooze; melt', AD6 Karang *sāh* 'moisten'

*sā*, mud | AD5 Yendang *sók*

*sák*, hang, carry (on shoulder)

\**sàk*, genet cat | CD *sàk*, AD2 CL *sàg* "renard"

*sám*, bark (vb)

*sām*, spear (see list 1)

(áŋ) *sámkā*, left (hand)

*sán*, carve

*sān*, hoe | cf. AD4 Dii *tōŋ*

*sānsá*, muddy pool | cf. *sā*

*sánsì*, grind (flour) | AD4 Pere *sán*- 'grind (fresh, damp grain)', whence relationship with *sá*,  
*sā*

(á/) *sánká*, frog, toad (see list 1)

\**sánkì* (HM?), teach, learn | CD *sānkì*, AD2 CL *sán*

\**sáási*, do (repetitively) | CD *sāási* (auxiliary verb)

*sàtāā* or *sātāā*, sour

*sáátí*, porcupine

*sátōk*, (beer) pot

*sé* (also *sééwā*), sun, God (see list 1)

*sè* (intr), lacking, scarce (be) | AD5 Yendang *sè*

*sē*, also *sésèē*, nightjar (? , translates CD *tāāmāā*)

(áŋ) *sē* (or *sé*), fingernail (see list 1)

\**séb*, witch | CD *sép* 'bewitch'; cf. AD4 Dii *sòb* 'use witchcraft', *sóōg* 'witch', *séy* 'witchcraft'

*séēk*, anklet | AD4 Pere *ségò* "castagnette"

*sék*, go (down), also *séksi* | AD2 CL *sím*, AD4 Dii *sí*, cf. AD4 Pere *sí*- 'sit'; also cf. *sí* 'down'

\**sèm*, (prepubescent) girl, female (animal) | CD *sèèm* 'girl' but *-sè* 'female animal'

*sēmsémtá* sand | cf. AD4 Pere *sīī*, AD5 ZM *sneeli* (note particularly *sengsengli* from the

Saawà dialect of Mumuye, Shimizu 1979:98); Kleinewillinghöfer 1996:97 also

reports forms like *swaa* in Bikwin; cf. AD6 Kare *màsálá* and AD13 Niellim *hyāān*

from an earlier form with initial *s*

*sén*, waist | AD4 Momi *seem*, AD5 ZM *sán*

*sén*, add (to), increase

\**sèné* (pl. *sèné-t-*), guest | CD *sèné*, AD2 CL *sèén*, cf. *jēmtá*

*sènéēŋ*, strong, healthy | cf. CD *sēni* 'be too strong', AD4 Dii *sèn* 'make an effort' prob. <  
*sèè* 'be potent, effective'

\**sèni*, difficult (be) | CD *sēni*

*sēsì*, pull (off, out)

*sèér*, pl. of *yámík*, young, small (child)

*sèèrá*, truth

*sé*, scratch (itching) | cf. AD5 ZM *sneeté* 'itch'

*sí*, speech, matter

*sí* (intr), black, dark (be) | cf. AD5 ZM *tinri* 'dark'; also cf. *jí* 'night'

*sí*, bury

*sí*, plait (hair) | AD4 Momi *si-* 'make rope'; otherwise CD *tíí*, Pere *tù*- 'weave', AD5 ZM *tisé*

*sí*, also *sĩ*, down(wards) | AD5 Yendang *sèè*, cf. CD *tĩ*, AD2 CL *tē*, AD5 ZM *tí(p)ì*, AD6

Kare *tìà*, also cf. *síb* 'under', *sék* 'go down' for this correspondence

*sì*, wait for | CD *sìt*, AD2 CL *sìd*, both 'be patient', AD4 Pere *sí-* 'sit'

*sĩ*, show

*síb*, under, below | CD *tĩm*, also AD5 ZM *típí*, AD6 Karang *sìba*, both 'earth'; cf. *sí* 'down'

*sígán(á)*, much, many

*sìjì*, also *sìñ*, civet cat | CD *sì*, AD2 CL *sìd*

\**sím*, beer | CD *sĩm*; cf. AD4 Pere *fũm*, AD13 Kulaal *ham*, Niellim *hám*

*sĩr*, porridge | cf. AD4 Momi *sii-* 'cook porridge'

\**sìr*, boil, abcess | CD *sìt*, AD2 CL *sìlâ*

*sísèè*, switch, whip

\**sìsá*, insult (n) | CD *sìsì*

*só*, drink | CD *sóó*; the general AU root is represented by AD4 Dii *zò*; \**swa* is PP; note

however that Chadic Bata has *sòb*

*só*, butt, ram (perhaps identical with the following term) | AD2 CL *sūd*

*sòò*, break (intr) | AD4 Dii *sóób*

*sò*, pierce, stab | AD5 ZM *suu*, Yendang *só-*, AD6 Karang *sũ*, but AD2 CL *sàb* 'pierce', AD4

Pere *sà-*, *sàà-*, Dii *sà*; compare CD *sót*

*sók*, wash (something) | CD *sũksì*, AD4 CL *sùg*, AD4 Pere *sòg-*, AD5 ZM *sòkè*, AD6

Karang *sòh* 'wash oneself'

\**sókàr*, (land monitor) lizard | CD *sókà*

*sóksá*, hair (on body) (see list 1)

*sóksá* (used with *bó* 'throw'), whistling

*són*, (staple) food | AD5 Yendang *sōō*, cf. CD *túm*, also AD13 Kulaal *hààl*, Niellim *hàà:n*;

cf. 'eat, chew'

\**sóŋ*, antelope (kind of) | CD *sóng*

*sóp*, blow (on)

*sópsì*, lick (up)

*sóṓ*, also *sóórā*, wind | cf. AD13 Kulaal *hààp*, Niellim *sààb*  
*són*, carry (off, away) | cf. CD *tùùn*, AD5 Yendang *tóṓ*, both 'carry on head'  
*sō*, mucus | cf. AD2 CL *sāb* 'pus'  
*sóónì*, leave (a path), branch off  
*sónsì*, put out (fire)  
*sūksá*, soup | AD5 Yendang *sónkō*  
*súmsì*, *sùmsì*, gather (something); gather (together) | CD *sòòm*, AD4 Pere *sùm-*, both 'gather up', AD5 Yendang *sóṓ* 'take out, remove'  
*sùwéḗ*, (intestinal) worm | CD *sòḡmí*, AD2 CL *sòbḗḗ*  
*súḡsì*, swell, blister  
*súsùḡ*, shade | AD5 ZM *sunrú*, cf. AD6 Karang *súḡ* 'night'  
*sýy*, thirst | CD *súù*, AD2 CL *súùd*  
*sýým*, dry (be) | CD *sùm*  
*sýmàā*, empty  
*sýmsì*, dry (tr) | CD *sūmsì*  
*sýn*, grow, develop; go out | cf. CD *túún* 'develop, grow up' > *tūnèn* 'go out'; also AD6 Karang *tḡh* 'go out'  
*sýyñ*, tail | AD2 CL *sū* 'queue de oiseau'; also cf. AD13 Kulaal *héḗ*, Niellim *hínā*  
*sýnsì*, resemble  
*sýtým*, bright, shiny (be); smooth, slippery, mucilaginous (be) | AD5 Yendang *sṓr-* 'be slippery'

*tá*, hit, kick, shoot | CD *tàt*, AD2 CL *tàl*, AD4 Momi *taa-*, Dii *tà'*, AD5 ZM *ta*, Yendang *tá-*,  
 cf. *té* 'sting...'  
*tá* (or *tḡ*), pick, pluck (fruit); excrete | AD4 Dii *tḡ* 'pick'  
 \**tá*, butcher (vb) | CD *tàà*  
*tḡ*, early (be, get up) | AD4 Dii *tá'ád*  
 \**tāāb*, sandal | CD *tāāp*, AD2 CL *tábá*  
*tāām*, *tām*, jump (over), jump (intr)  
*táp*, sew | AD2 CL *tāb*, AD4 Dii *tā*, both 'tie up'; compare CD *tāqālì*, CL *tál*, a root also  
 present in Chadic Gude  
 \**tará*, three (but cf. 'eight' *týn-/tārārā*) | CD *tārā* (see list 1)  
*té*, sting, prick, dazzle; appear | CD *tàt*, AD4 Momi *tāks-* 'reveal', cf. *tá* 'hit...'

*té*, stone (see list 1)

(*yén*) *tē* (< *té*?), anus

*tébmá*, luck(y) (translates CD *jí* 'red' in *ní/ín jí* 'luck(y person)', lit. 'red face')

(*á*)/*tékā*(/í?), gecko

*tém*, pass (through) | CD *tēli* 'pass by', AD2 CL *tān*, AD4 Pere *tàl*- 'pass', AD5 Yendang *tár*-, AD6 Kare *tá*

*témsì*, insult

\**té*, push, sweep, carry along | CD *tə̀ə*

\**téksì*, begin | CD *tə̀ksì*

\**téəmsà*, sheep | CD *tə̀əmsí*; also note AD4 Pere *tāmī*, AD5 Yendang *də̀ə*

*tí*, tree, stick (see list 1)

*tī*, father (but *téəná* 'your father') | AD4 Pere *tāā*, but *túnú* 'his father', cf. AD5 ZM *yera*, Yendang *yóri* (with prefix *yV*-?)

*tì(y)ām*, afternoon

*tík*, gourd | AD4 Dii *tíg*

\**tíksá*, snail | CD *tíksāā*

(*á*)/*tí/sāā* (< *á/tísāā*?), owl | AD5 Yendang *túnsún*

*tísēŋ* (or *tísèŋ*), ant

\*(*péə*) *tóm*, work (n) | CD *pén toóm*

*tón*, eat, chew | CD *tàn*, AD5 Yendang *táá*-; also AD13 Kulaal *tú* but Niellim *túy* 'eat (staple food)', compare *són* 'staple food', AD5 ZM *shaa* 'eat', and AD6 Kare *só* 'chew'

\**tón*, play (+ *tóə* 'ear') | CD *tòng táā*

*tòón(nē)*- (also *tùnnè*), good, effective, clean, beautiful | AD4 Dii *tōō* and AD5 ZM *tnoq*, Yendang *tàn*-, all 'be good, tasty'; cf. AD6 Karang *sù*

\**tóntón*, strong, healthy | CD *tóngtóng*

*tó*, miss, err

*tóō*, bow (see list 1)

*tóə*, ear (see list 1)

*tóəb*, Shea butter tree | CD *túūp*; cognates in AD13: Kulaal *tóí*, Niellim *tāām*

*túá*, here

*túū*, head (see list 1)

\*(*péə*) *túnén*, baggage | CD *pén túnén* < *tùn* 'carry'

*tún/sým*, shame | cf. AD2 CL *sám*, AD4 Pere *ségò*, Dii *sém*, AD5 ZM *yúú-sne* with *yú* 'head' and CD *sə́sə́ə* (also of course Fulfulde *semt*-)

\**tū̀̀n*, five (but changes form in compound numbers: *tū̀̀n-kīn* 'six', *tóò̀̀n-sī-bḕ̀rǎ* 'seven',  
*týn-/tárārā* 'eight', *tū̀̀n-sí-něá* 'nine', cf. *wúp-sě̀̀-*tū̀̀nǎ** 'fifteen') (see list 1)

*tún*, point (at) | CD *tò̀̀*, AD6 Kare *tò*

*tún*, push | CD *tùt*, AD2 CL *tì*, AD4 Dii *tú'*, but Pere *tà̀̀r-*; also AD5 ZM *dnó*

*tý*, finish, complete (tr) | AD4 Dii *tú* 'be completely destroyed'; cf. CD *dùk*, *dūksi*

*týrým*, between, among | cf. AD4 Dii *tà̀̀g*

*týn*, spit | AD2 CL *tó*, AD4 Dii *tò̀̀'ò* but AD4 Momi *tǎn-*, AD5 Yendang *tēn-*; CD *tūsì*

(*á*)/*vǎ̀̀ā*, (kind of) lizard

*vǎ̀̀lì*, help | < Fulfulde *walla*

*vó*, squat

*vúm*, roast | AD2 CL *wùn* 'faire frire'

*vúũn*, goat (see list 1)

(*á*)/*vúnsǎ*, mosquito | CD *bó̀̀sǎ*, AD4 Momi *woos*, Pere *vó̀̀rè*, Dii *vǎd*, Karang *vwó̀̀rò*, Kare  
*wó̀̀rò*, cf. AD5 ZM *wara* 'bee', Yendang *vó̀̀rì* 'bee', *wḕ̀rē* 'honey'

*vý*, die | CD *wúú*, AD4 Momi *wḕ̀r-*, Pere *vò-*, AD5 ZM *vò*, Yendang *wēs-*, AD6 Karang *hū*,  
AD13 Kulaal *úú*, Niellim *'úy*, cf. AD2 CL *vǎd*

*výýsǎ*, shadow | AD2 CL *nyìsǎ*; cf. PP \**vu* 'shade'

*vwē*, beat, hit | clearly ideophonic: CD *vwàt*, AD6 *vwā*, elsewhere AD4 Momi *bee'*, Dii *vǎ̀̀ā*,  
cf. AD6 Karang *vwàr*, Kare *vwḕ̀rè* 'break'

*wá*, fire | AD4 Pere *vḕ̀ē*, Dii *vḕ̀ē*; cf. AD5 ZM *yaa*, but *waa* in various other Mumuye  
dialects; this well-represented AD-Ubangi root is not found in CD, but is present in  
both Mambila and Vute

*wá*, sharpen

*wák*, *wákú*, grandfather

*wàlǎn*, (cooking) pot (see list 1)

*wáásǎ*, heat, hot (cf. 'fire') | also compare ZM *wnaa* 'hot'

*wánsǎ*, body

*wá*, leave, let | CD *vét*

*wé*, year, time, season | AD4 Momi *wiir*, Pere *vḕ̀rè*, Dii *vē'*

wé (pl. wí), child | CD wéé 'small, child', AD2 CL wà, AD4 Pere wārwā, Dii wāā, AD5

Yendang vāā, \*van is PP

wéjīm, morning

wéjìn, tomorrow

(á/)wékkā, (his?) wife ('woman' with prefix à-) | (vestigial) compounding of terms for 'man'

and 'woman', perhaps absent in Tiba, is a general feature of SWAD (and CD:

lé[-]rùm 'man', né[-]nwù 'woman'); if Tiba 'woman' were of this type, it might be

related to AD4 Dii wā(-)kéé, etc., cf. AD2 CL kéèn 'woman'; otherwise it may be

connected with an eastern root: AD6 Kare wū, Karang wūyūy, AD13 Kulaal wáá,

Niellim wáy, cf. wū, female

\*wép, mix | CD wèp

\*wér, arrow (see list 1)

wérùm-wē, (small) bird | cf. AD4 Momi welmāz 'nightjar'

wésèē, firewood | AD2 CL wōgsà

wésì, hurt | CD nwōnì (but Mapeo Chamba wēnì), AD4 Pere wòò-

wék, hide (tr)

wéçérá, mushroom

wū (wūn?), female | AD6 Karang wūyūy, Kare wū 'woman' (also Koh máy)

wī, sit, stay, wait | AD4 Momi wī'isk- 'set (as sun)'

wínsá, thatching grass

\*wó, want | CD wòò

wó, take off (clothes) | CD wōōsì

wó, watch (over) | CD nwáán, AD2 CL wán, AD4 Pere wór-

wōb, baboon

wōgbíy, bat

wóm(nē)-, cooperative, conjoint (labor)

wóm, oil (see list 1)

wómsā, elephant grass

wōy, fight (vb) | CD nōng but nòòm 'be angry', cf. AD4 Pere gò- 'fight' but nò- 'be angry',

AD5 Yendang yómán-

wōy, fight (n) | CD nōng

wòp (intr), run | AD5 Yendang ó-, cf. CD nwòp 'avoid'; also see wúp 'fear'

wópsì, ride (horse)

wōpsínsá, sweat | cf. CD wāt, AD2 CL wād, but AD5 ZM pmō; \*tiin is PP

\**wó*, hide (intr) | CD *wó*, cf. AD5 Yendang *kúú*

*wób*, bone | cf. the well-represented NC root appearing, e.g., in PP as \**kup* (but AD5

Yendang *kún*)

*wóḡb*, ten (see list 1)

*wú*, drunk (be) | cf. CD *wít*, AD2 CL *wìd*

*wù*, fat (be) | CD *nòò*, AD4 Momi *non-*, Pere *nùù-*, AD5 ZM *nó*

*wúp*, fear | cf. CD *yíp*, AD5 ZM *yú*, both 'run', perhaps associated with a Chadic root, cf.

Bata *gíḡ*; also AD6 Kare *wáù*; see *wòp* 'run'

*wúptá*, fear (n)

*yá*, go (and visit, + *sèné*) | AD2 CL *yā* 'venir', AD4 Dii *yà* 'arrive'

*yā*, (over) there | cf. AD4 Dii *yā* 'place'

*yà* (intr), rot, spoil; be surprised | CD *nyāngì*, AD2 CL *nyā*, also *yēèl* 'spoil, destroy', AD5

Yendang *yānsán-*

\**yāḡ*, what?, why? | CD *nyāā*

*yāḡ*, friend (see list 1)

*yā*, old, used

*yà* (intr), swallow | cf. AD4 Dii *yó'*

(*á*)/*yà*, where? | AD5 Yendang *yāà*

*yámik*, pl. *sèér*, young, small (child) | cf. CD *míí* (pl. *méém*) and AD5 Yendang (*vāā*) pl. *yá*

*yāān*, bad

\**yān*, horse (see list 1)

*yāásá*, leaf (see list 1)

*yé*, (at) home | CD *nyēm*, AD2 CL *yīl* 'house, compound', AD4 Dii *yēē* 'courtyard', AD5

ZM *ye*

*yé*, ready, ripe, healed (be), adj. *yénèē* | AD4 Dii *yén ná* 'true, good', cf. 'cook', cf. AD2 CL

*wè*

*yéksì*, light (fire from another fire) | AD4 Pere *yèg-*

*yér(i)má*, flame | AD2 CL *yèél* 'red, flame'; cf. *bórùm* 'thunder, lightening'

*yēēm*, meat (see list 1)

*yēm*, carry (to), present (something) with an obeisance | cf. CD *nyēni*

\**yēm*, yesterday | CD *nyēm*

*yémsā*, song | CD *nìmsí* but AD4 Dii *yéé*, AD5 Yendang *yēk*



*yěēn*, buttocks

*yēŋ*, sow (by casting), scatter | CD *yèè*, AD4 Pere *yām*- 'disperse'

\**yěēŋ*, bedbug | CD *nyéēŋ*

*yěēŋ*, cold (be) (as wind)

\**yēŋlá*, digging stick | CD *nyéŋlí*

*yí*, eat | CD *líí*, AD2 CL *lí*, AD4 Momi *ree*, Pere *lé*-

\**yí*, steal | CD *yíí*

\**yík*, lion (see list 1)

*yírík*, black | CD *vírkí*, AD4 Momi *wíí*-, *wíir*- 'be black', Pere *víí*- 'be black', Dii *víí* = *íí* 'be black', AD5 ZM *viiki*, but also AD4 Pere *dííí*, AD5 Yendang *yítí*, AD6 Kare *yírí* (both having cognates in AD13 as well)

(*áŋ*)*yīimā* (< *yíí* 'eat'), right (hand)

*yó*, pull, stretch | cf. CD *nwòt*, AD4 Dii *wòò*; also AD5 ZM *gnq* 'pull', *znq* 'pull out'

*yógréēn*, soft | AD4 Momi *yakw*-, Dii *yōō* 'be soft' vs. CD *wógléēn*, AD2 CL *óg* 'be soft'

*yóòk*, cook (staple food) | AD4 Pere *yó*-, AD4 Dii *yó* 'be ripe, cooked' (cf. *yé* 'ready...(be)'); also cf. AD4 Momi *ruu*-

*yókúm*, salt (see list 1)

*yóm* (*yōm(nē)*-), bite, be sharp | AD5 ZM *yon*; elsewhere, the usual initial //n alternance: CD *lóóm*, AD2 CL *lùm*, AD4 Momi *rom(-d-)*, AD4 Dii *nòŋ*, AD5 Yendang *rún*-, AD6 Karang *nūŋ*, Mbum *lón*

*yōō*, snake (see list 1)

*yó*, weave, plait

*yóósá*, rope | CD *yísí*, AD4 Momi *yokla*

*yóósì*, swim, cross a river by swimming | AD4 Pere *wó(g)*-; cf. CD *yáá* 'climb, cross a river (by any means)', AD4 Pere *yáá*- 'cross (a river by means other than swimming)'

*yúū*, death, dead body | cf. CD *wéē*, AD5 ZM *vōō*, Yendang *wéē*, AD6 Karang *húl*, AD13 Kulaal *ùààl*, Niellim *'úúlū*, all probably related

*yúú*, hunger | CD *wúú*, AD5 ZM *wnōkq*; cf. AD13 Niellim *nyúní* 'thirst'

*yúksā*, fish | CD *wúūk*, cf. AD4 Momi *duga*, *duukt*, Pere *dúré*, AD6 Karang *nzúy*

*yým* (or *yóm*), collide (with) | AD5 Yendang *yìn*-